Monograph No. I: Part II

THE ITALIANS OF SAN FRANCISCO

THEIR ADJUSTMENT AND ACCULTURATION

by

Paul Radin

Abstract from the SERA Project 2-F2-98 (3-F2-145):
Cultural Anthropology

August, 1935

Table of Contents

II

THE SOCIAL-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT FROM WHICH THE ITALIANS CAME

I. Introductory

The importance of knowing in considerable detail the nature of the economic environment from which an immigrant group has come need not, of course, be stressed. With the best of will not even the most adaptable of individuals can erase the influence of the conditions under which he lived during the first twenty years of his life. Indeed one can even push this age forward and say within the first fifteen years, at least, for peasants and workers. It is practically impossible to throw off such influences psychologically and, even if it were possible to do so, there are certain inescapable social-economic elements entering into the situation in San Francisco which renders it doubly difficult to give them up.

For more than a generation San Francisco has had a well-established Italian colony with a physiognomy all its own. Up to 1910 certainly, this colony was essentially self-sufficient, in small part, of its own volition, in much larger part, because it was socially and economically constrained to be so. The presence of this homogeneous core of Italians naturally re-enforced habits, customs and modes of thought ingrained in the homeland. From the viewpoint of a rapid adjustment to their new environment this necessarily meant a retardation in assimilation. The relatives left behind in Italy and with whom for the first few years, at any rate, an intimate contact was maintained, constituted another such retardation. To this must be added a third, the natural habit of immigrants to marry members of their own group. In

the case of the Italians this meant not only that they married members of their own group who had preceded them to this country but that the men sent to Italy for their brides. All this naturally interfered with their adjustment. Nor was this helped by the attitude taken by the Italian government itself toward its departing subjects. This was given official expression in the instructions issued with passports during the years 1926 and 1927. The final page of these amazing instructions merits full quotation:

What it Means to be Italian

The immigrant should never abandon his feeling of the value of being an Italian, even though many years have elapsed since his departure from his native country and even if his memories are no longer reenforced by his affection for those he has left behind in his Fatherland.

Different as may be the country in which he has chosen to live, in race, traditions, customs and climate, from his own, he should always hold in honor those industrial products of his homeland which were familiar to him from his infancy; he should always remember that the more of these he uses the greater will be the advantage accruing to his distant kinsmen.*

Keep alive, at all times, the use of your mother tongue and the practice of your own institutions; bring up your children in a love for your Fatherland and teach them the language, history and geography of Italy. And even if you assume the nationality of the country in which you have settled, never deny and never forget the sublime moral inheritance of your ancestors and transmit to your descendants the sacred flame of the love of the distant Fatherland. Thus will you ever remain a true son of that world-extensive and strong Italy.

"Long Live Italy, Forever"**

---

* The underscoring is mine.

** Ill Sentimento d'Italianita'

La coscienza del vanto di essere italiano non abbandoni mai l'emigrante, anche quando siano passati molti anni del giorno in cui lascio il suo paese natio ed anche se le sue memorie ed i suoi

From the very beginning of his government Mussolini has always insisted upon this one point--that the vast numbers of Italians emigrating for foreign countries, must not be lost to the Fatherland. In a speech delivered at Milan in 1925 he specifically states that wherever an Italian lives there the Italian tricolor flies and there is Italy.* All the more important is it consequently to know in some detail what were the economic conditions, what the traditions and what the customs of the Italy of the last two generations.

II. The Economic and Cultural Conditions of Italy 1890-1935

A. 1890 to 1922

Italy is today and always has been predominantly an agricultural country and an agricultural community living in a peninsula that can hardly be called fertile. It seems a garden spot only to those strangers who visit such selected areas as the valley of the Po, the plains of Apulia (Tavoliere delle Puglie), the Conca d'Oro near Palermo,

---

ricordi non siano piu' alimentati dall'affetto di congiunti rimasti in Patria.

Nella societa' in cui vive, diversa da quella dov'e'nato per razza, tradizioni, clima, usuanze ecc., tenga sempre in onore quei prodotti dell'industria nazionale che gli sono famigliare fin dall'infanzia: pensi del maggior comsumo di essi si avvantaggiano i propri fratelli lontani.

Mantenga, in oltre, vivo l'uso della propria lingua e il culto delle proprie istituzioni; allevi i figli nell'amore verso la Patria sua e apprenda loro la lingua, la storia e la geografia d'Italia. Anche se egli assuma la nazionalita' del Paese in cui si trova, non rinneghi e non oblii il sublime retaggio morale dei propri avi e trasmetta ai napoti la sacra fiamma dell'amor della Patria lontana: egli restera' cosi non degenere figlio dell'Italia grande e forte nel mondo..

"Viva L'Italia, Sempre"

* "Ed allora si comprende come il problema dell'espansione italiana nel mondo sia un problema di vita o di morte per la razza italiana. Dico

the Piana di Palmi in Calabria and a number of other areas, small in extent. These are the only regions that yield rich crops. Within the last fifty years the center of the peninsula which was, in part, covered with marshes (Paludi Pontine) has been slowly regained for cultivation and made habitable. It is this gigantic undertaking that Mussolini completed and for which he very ungenerously claimed full credit.

The principal products of the soil are cereals, olives, citrus fruits, mulberries, wines and, for Sicily in particular, wheat. The latter, in spite of strong government encouragement in the past and today, is not willingly cultivated because it yields the least remunerative of crops.

The difficulties that face the agriculturist are great. Climatic conditions favor the ripening of certain crops only. Rain and humidity are are not adequate for the others and thus an extensive system of irrigation is necessary. The slopes of the Appennines have for centuries been covered with vineyards and yet, even today, it is only by the most patient and laborious work that they survive. The soil has still to be renewed by bringing earth from the plains, literally basket by basket. Each year they have to be carefully protected both from devastating fogs during spring and fron the ruinous rays of the sun during the summer.

Added to this is the small size of the country and the large size of the population. After all, Italy only has a surface area of 310,000

---

espansione: espanione in ogni senso: morale, politico, economico, demografico. Dichiaro qui che il Governo intende di tutelare l'emigrazione italiani; esso non puo' disinteressarsi di coloro che varcano i monti e vanno all di' la dell'Oceano; non puo'disinteressarsi perche sono uomini, lavaratori e soprattutto italiani. E dovunque e' un italiano la' e'il tricolore, la'e'la Patria, la' e'la difesa del Governo per questi italiani." Benito Mussolini, La Politica Dell'Italia, p. 101.

square kilometers in which 42,000,000 people live. If we remember that 31,000 hectares are taken up by cities, lakes, rivers, highways, rocky surfaces, regions more than 700 meters above sea level, and malarial areas, we have left for the cultivation of the soil barely 20,000 hectares, i.e. two inhabitants per hectare. The density of the population as such varies tremendously, Sardinia having 102.7 people to the square mile whereas Campania and Liguria have respectively 689.6 and 683.6. Between these two extremes lie Piedmont, Lombardy and Venetia, with approximately 455 to the square mile.

For more than two generations this population problem has been the bane of Italian statesmen and politicians. The statesmen realized that in the present order of society, outlets must either be found for the surplus population or the increase in population must be discouraged. A statesman and scholar like Francesco Nitti has pointed this out only recently and stressed the fact that ancient Rome together with Latium, at the period of its greatest glory, possessed only 1,000,000 inhabitants.* Mussolini, as we all know, has, on the contrary, thrown all his energy into encouraging the birth rate. In a famous speech delivered in 1927 he insisted that it is only in numbers that power lies. This battle for the increase of births (la battaglia dell nascite) led to the passing of a severe law against the dissemination of information concerning birth control, the tax on bachelors and the establishment of premiums for parents of large families. This has led to some very amusing incidents and some highly characteristic statements from the Fascist press. For example, in the Tribuna, a well-known fascist writer declares that the battle for the population increase demonstrates the superiority spiritually and otherwise,

---

* La Democrazia, Vol. II Editions Contemporaines, Paris, 1933.

of the Fascist view of life as compared with the naturalistic conception among the liberal governments and the materialistic conception prevalent in democracies. As might have been expected, peasants reported marvelous successes for the Duce's pronouncement. One such case printed in the newspapers of May 2, 1928, calls the attention of the Duce to the fact that the wife of a peasant had given birth to triplets exactly eleven and a half months after the pronouncement had been made, and that this, as well as the amazing increase in births of triplets, is due to the fact that both parents were Fascists, in soul and body.* Another case reported in August, 1930, is even more amazing. A woman, who when seven months pregnant, contemplated the emblem of the Fascist party, informs the world that she gave birth to a child with the Fascist emblem impressed upon its right buttock.** In another case a child was born who immediately announced that he wished to be put at the disposal of the Duce. But in spite of all Mussolini's fulminations and his insistence that Italy must have 60,000,000 by 1950, in spite of the miraculous increase in the number of triplets born yearly and

---

* This is the letter of the peasant: "Sabato scorso, 28 corriente, mia moglie ha partorito tre bambine. I parti trigemini che prima erano cosi rari, dopo gli incoraggiamenti dati dal glorioso Duce, diventano molto comuni. Il fausto evento che ha rallegrato la mia famiglia deve essere spiegato dal fatto che sono fascista nell'anima e nel corpo. Sono dolente che le bambine non potranno offrire le loro braccia alla Patria, ma offriranno i loro cuore e le loro anime."

** Una signora di Ancona, il 4 novembre 1928, nel settimo mese di gravidanza, si fermo davanti alla sede del Fascio e si mise a contemplare l'emblema del Partito fascista che decorava la facciata del pallazo, quando ad un tratto esclamo: "Mussolini dev' essere contento se noi donne offriamo i nostri figli a lui. Desidererei offrirglione uno che avesse il fascio littorio impresso sulle sue carni." Capito che le nacque una bambina due mesi dopo, con un emblema littorio sulla natica destra!

the touching faith that could implant the fascio littorio upon the buttocks of newborn infants, the women of Italy seem to have rebelled, for the following is what the marriage and birth statistics show:-

	MARRIAGES		BIRTHS		
Year	Number	Per 1,000 Population	Number	Per 1,000 Population	Excess of births over deaths, per 1 000 population
1922	365,460	9.6	1,175,827	30.7	12.7
1923	334,306	8.7	1,155,177	30.0	13.0
1924	306,830	7.9	1,224,470	29.0	11.9
1925	295,769	7.6	1,109,761	28.3	11.2
1926	295,566	7.5	1,094,587	27.7	10.5
1927	302,564	7.6	1,093,772	27.4	10.6
1928	285,248	7.1	1,072,316	26.6	9.1
1929	287,800	7.1	1,092,678	26.7	12.6
1930	303,214	7.4	1,037,700	25.6	9.1
1931	276,740	6.7	1,027,638	24.9	10.2
1932	268,336	6.5	992,049	23.8	9.2
1933	290,000	6.9	996,000	23.7	10.0
1934 (ten months)	234,000	5.5	827,000	19.7	8.7

1. Types of Agricultural Workers

In general Italy is a country of small landowners, very few of whom, however, actually till the soil themselves. For this purpose they employ tenants (fittavoli) and crop-sharers (mezzadri). Neither of

---

* Cf. Annuario Statistico Italiano, for 1922-1933. For 1933 and 1934, January to October 1934, Compendio Statistico, 1934, both published by the Instituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Rome. The figures are consequently official and authentic.

these two groups, which are numerically about equal in size, possess any property in land. They merely have certain interests in it.

The fittavoli pay an annual fixed sum to the owner of the land, the title of which, as a matter of fact, often belongs to some foundation or municipality. Very few of these fittavoli till the soil themselves unless they are very poor or the rented land very small. Instead they hire laborers. The products of the land, however, belong to them exclusively.

The mezzadri till the soil themselves using members of their family as helpers. If a farm is too large for one family to manage satisfactorily, then they too will hire help, particularly during the planting and harvesting seasons. They supply the farming tools and one half of the various chemicals necessary for combating insect pests or diseases of the crops, and they take, in exchange, one half of the products or such a share as has been agreed upon, according to the fertility of the land.

The fittavoli and mezzadri together, form one of the groups into which the "farmer" class is divided. The other class*, just as numerous, consists of one which is concerned with the selling of labor either to those few landowners who cultivate the land directly, i.e., the fittavoli or to the mezzadri, during the planting and harvesting seasons. This class is the poorest of all the agricultural workers. This does not mean that the other groups are not poor or that they are even comfortably off. All agricultural groups--fittavoli, mezzadri and even the small landowners are generally poor. They live in unsanitary homes, have no educational

---

* They are called giornatori, caroni, bifolchi, etc., according to the different dialects.

facilities and no medical attention. In northern Italy there are often farm buildings but the workers and their families are lodged in the basement where the floors are never paved and are always damp. Both the fittavoli and the mezzadri are normally in debt to the landowner and have no savings. Their ability to endure such a life of misery is, of course, due to their proverbial frugality and physical resistance.

Taxation has always been very heavy and the yield of the soil is naturally not abundant due to its continuous cultivation for so many centuries. This, added to the overcrowding, produced a most depressing economic situation which became almost unbearable after the war. Before the war the wages of agricultural laborers averaged three and a half lire a day, the lire then being worth five to the dollar. During the war there was a natural rapid rise and in 1918 the average was six lire a day. After 1919 with a greatly depreciated currency the wages rose to eighteen lire in 1921-1922, to decline to fifteen at the end of 1922. With the advent of Mussolini the decline continued rapidly until today the average wage is six lire, i.e., fifty cents a day with greatly decreased purchasing power, as compared to seventy cents before the war.*

The following more specific and vivid picture was obtained from one of the Italians interviewed:

> In Italy the major portion of the land is owned by a minority of the population and the term mezadro and contadino is applied to those tenants that the landowner must, of necessity, place upon his land to bring production to its full limit. Mezadro means literally, fifty-fifty or equal shares.

---

* Cf. The report of H.C. MacLean, American Commercial Attache at Rome, in Trade Information Bulletin of the United States, #337, Department of Commerce, 1926 and subsequent bulletins.

Italy being much smaller in area than the state of California, yet with many times its population, was forced, in order to feed its people, to get the utmost in production from its land. Unemployment was unknown because any family man could obtain a place to live and the necessities of life, by appealing to the landowner.. This meant, however, not a living but a mere existence.

The man who desired employment would go to the landowner and make his agreement. In general, this would engage the landowner to provide a given number of acres of land, a home, necessary buildings for the crop to be planted and a certain amount of stock, including hogs, cows, a horse or mule, and poultry. The landlord farmer planted a sufficient number of the different trees and fruits to provide for the needs of the tenant in fulfillment of his contract. There would be a certain number of chestnut trees to provide his flour, a certain number of grape vines for his wine, of olive trees for his cooking oil, and of fruit for his table.

The tenant was expected, from his tract of land, to raise all his food and in many cases the material for his clothing as well. The landowner provided his tenant family with food until such time as the farm itself could produce it. As each crop was harvested the division was made, half to owner and half to tenant. Any surplus above his needs, the tenant might sell in order to obtain money for those necessities of life which could not be produced on the farm.

Clothing was not bought ready made in the form of a suit or a dress, but sufficient cloth was purchased or bartered for, to outfit the entire family. If the women were not capable of making them, a tailor or dressmaker was engaged to come to the home and sew for the entire family. If two, three, or four days were required, the tailor or dressmaker was paid, if possible, in proceeds of the farm. These proceeds came, of course, from the tenant's share, after the division with his landlord.

Shoes for the family were obtained in the same manner. The cobbler was called and he outfitted the family at one time, collecting his pay in the same manner as the tailor. Shoes, as we know them, were the exception and once a pair were obtained the greatest care was taken of them. They were never worn except to church and only on special occasions. Even then the chances were that they would be carried on the shoulders, their owners going barefoot, until arrival at their destination.

The everyday shoe did not require the use of a cobbler as the father was usually able to outfit the family. These shoes were made with wooden soles and open sides and toes, the only foot covering being a three-tie strap across the instep, with another

strap about the heel and ankle. In winter these shoes were replaced by the use of hemp sacking wound about the foot and ankle.

A tenant was allowed to work his farm so long as he lived and desired to stay. He was vitally interested in getting the most he could from his land because his living depended upon it. He was not taxed by the government, except on personal property which could be paid by labor performed for his province or municipality, or in cash. His schools were provided tax free, although about three years was the maximum. Cemeteries and burial were also provided free of cost to the tenant.

These mezadros, while having plenty of necessities of life, were denied any of the luxuries. Owing to their scanty education, they were, for the most part, satisfied with life. Their work was not limited to farming alone but they might be city factory workers as well. For instance, they might obtain a small farm, on the same conditions as stated before, near the city, where their families would raise their food while the father or mother, or both, worked in a factory.

Work on these farms, while intensive, is not the daylight to twilight labor indulged in by Italian immigrants to America. There are over two hundred holidays on the Italian calendar, and the tenant populace celebrate a majority of them. If the weather is too hot, work is postponed until the cooler hours of the day. Only absolutely necessary work is done when holidays and the weather offer the least resistance. It seems the laboring class, including farmers, in Italy are content with a more existence.

2. Living Conditions in Italy, 1890-1930

As in part I (pp. 71-111) I shall let the informants themselves describe their lives, quoting here, of course, only those portions of their narrative that deal with Italy. I have tried to have all sections of Italy represented and all classes of the population. Since, however, only a comparatively small number of those interviewed gave extensive descriptions of their life in the old country, the picture presented is necessarily weighted along certain lines. Essentially it is the picture of the underprivileged that we are given. But since in the main it is the underprivileged who came here, for the understanding of the background of the Italian immigrant

to San Francisco, the defectiveness of our record is immaterial.

A. Life in the Town of Scala, Campania

Mr. C. was born at Scala, Italy in 1882 and together with ten brothers and sisters lived with his parents until he was twenty years old.

His birthplace, Scala, Mr. C. believes to have been established by the Romans as some of them withdrew from the coast into the hills in back of Naples during the Carthaginian wars. The town was originally known as Cama. Although comparatively close to Naples and within 25 miles of Salerno, a city of 50,000, the happenings of the outside world had little, if any, effect upon the lives of those around him. The country between Scala and Salerno was almost solid rock, no soil and consequently no cultivation.

There were no roads, as we know them, through the country and Mr. C. remembers the first horses and carriage to make their appearance in his town, in 1888. However, to the North there was a very intricate system of roads and railroads near the Northern frontier, built and maintained for purposes of defense. Although Scala had a population of one thousand people there were no merchants. Practically every family had a small piece of ground where they managed to raise the bare necessities of life and seemed perfectly happy, mainly, he supposes, because they knew of no other way of living. This cultivated ground was entirely outside of the village. About half of the immediate area about Scala was owned by one man, an attorney, licensed to practice in the higher courts, and this land had come down to him from his father. He was the only employer of labor in the community and every Sunday morning after their eight o'clock Mass, the people would gather in his courtyard and wait. Sometime during the morning he would come out and pay them or if he felt so inclined he would send word that he did not care to be bothered that morning and they could come back next Sunday.

The only time any of these people wore shoes was on their Sunday morning trek to Church and to the "boss'" house. The purchase of a pair of shoes was an unusual event--some pairs lasting for ten to fifteen years. This long life was attained by wearing the shoes slung over the shoulders until Church was reached, then placing them on the feet until the service was over and then slinging them over the shoulders again until they could be hung up at home.

Their homes were very simple, consisting in almost all instances of but two rooms and never having chimneys. In some rare cases charcoal was burned in braziers but mostly wood,

burned openly, and the smoke allowed to seek its own way out.

Each family owned a cow but no one drank milk. The milk obtained was picked up daily by one of three men who collected the milk supply of the entire town and for each quart of milk collected the man would leave a small wooden disc with his name stamped upon it, and when one hundred of these had been saved they could be exchanged for cash at the rate of 2¢ for each disc. A certain amount of milk would be reserved for making butter and cheese. After the butter was made it would be shaped into a ball and around that would be placed a crust of cheese about half an inch thick. This would be placed in a cloth bag and suspended from the ceiling in the second room and allowed to hang for about two weeks. The smoke from the fire in the next room, cooled by its travels, would circulate around these cheese balls and in addition to hardening the cheese would impart a very superior flavor to it. The butter thus wrapped in an air-tight container would keep indefinitely.

After first coming to this country, Mr. C. found our butter unpalatable and used to have butter sent to him from home.

A family would have meat about once in three years. On August 10 of each year, in honor of San Lorenzo, their Patron Saint, one of their number would kill a cow. All who could would then buy a small piece. The only other meat obtainable was when a cow died. Then as many of the community as could, would buy a piece to prevent too great a loss to the owner of the cow.

The greatest single article of food seems to have been chestnuts. Mr. C. says the finest chestnuts in the world grow there. For their own use they used only the largest--those running from 17 to the kilogram ($2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds)--those grading from 17 to 35 to the kilogram were sold outside and those above 35 were fed to stock.

For their own use the chestnuts were placed in their oven (built outside and up to 10 and 12 feet in diameter) and roasted for twenty minutes. The oven door was then opened and the nuts left in until the oven thoroughly cooled. The nuts were then put in sacks. Both men and women when leaving the house in the morning would carry a pack of these chestnuts and Mr. C. says would commence eating them almost immediately and eat almost continuously until the day's work was done.

Carrying sandwiches for lunch was unheard of. If bread was taken to the fields it was taken in a very hard "chunk" about as big as a fist. They had no flour (wheat) but used a yellow corn flour mixed with water and a little salt and yeast, into crudely made loaves. A month's supply for the family would be made up and all placed in the oven at once and baked until it was so hard that it cracked across the top. The loaves, which were flat and about a foot in diameter, would then be

broken into five or six pieces and placed back in the oven until further dried out. After that the bread would be put in sacks and used as needed.

The only dentist in town was a man who owned a pair of pliers.

Their vineyards supplied only enough grapes to enable them to make wine for themselves, so very little was ever sold. Tea, they didn't use and their coffee they bought green and roasted as they used it. After roasting their coffee they would add oats roasted, in the proportion of one part of coffee to three parts of oats. This mexture was desirable for two reasons--first it was cheap in itself and second--it required less sugar to sweeten and sugar, for them, was expensive. I could not determine what grade of sugar they used. It was not granulated but, though white, had the consistency of our brown sugar. Very little fruit could be had except figs and the women did not know how to preserve any of the fruit they did have. Their lack of knowledge in this regard was evidently caused by their preceding generation's inability to get and use sugar for this purpose.

To go back to their coffee--the grounds or "mud" as Mr. C. called them--were not thrown out, but each day a little bit of fresh "coffee" was added until lack of room for liquid necessitated dumping the pot.

The women worked side by side with the men. Their only time off was that allowed to give birth to a child. Within a few days after that they would again be doing a man's work--up at 3 A.M. and out to gather wood. They would ordinarily be back by 7 A.M. with a load, nurse the child, distribute the green wood to dry and make up a load of dry wood to take down the hill to the coast to be sold--then back to nurse the child.

This wood, which men, women and children gathered, came from groves of chestnut trees--not, however, the nut bearing tree--owned by the town's one big man. It was very seldom that they had to pay anything for it and they were allowed to remove such pieces as would benefit and promote the growth of standing timber. This was done under the guidance of two overseers.

A bundle was 7 pounds and sold in the City for one cent. A boy would carry 10 bundles and a man or woman about 20 bundles or about 140 pounds.

A chestnut tree would be cut when twenty years old and would be cut very close to the ground. New shoots would grow up around these stumps and during the first and second years some would be selected and cut. These young shoots were soft and pliable and would be sold to use in tieing grape vines to the supporting lattices.

During the third, fourth and fifth years there would be selected those suitable for use as fence posts of a certain size. Those of the seventh and eighth year would be used for larger posts. The largest and most hardy one remaining would be allowed to grow.

Charcoal was also made but as the chestnut wood is not suitable for this a grove of hardwood trees is maintained from which the town's supply of charcoal is obtained. This hardwood grove is owned by the town as a community property.

The climate is mild--rarely exceeding ninety degrees in summer with rain every week or two. Occasionally a heavy snow falls in winter which lasts but three or four days and through these snows the people still go barefooted.

The town has one Doctor and he is paid by the State--given two thousand lire per year and a house.

Scala is divided into seven sections, each section having two churches except the one known as the center section which has three. The State to compensate them for the seizure of the outside Church properties gives each Priest an annual salary of one thousand lire.

The Section in which Mr. C. lived was called Campidoglio and contained 49 houses (and 2 churches) and the house in which he lived was the only one in town having an upper story. Resting in front of his house was an old Roman column about four feet in diameter and twenty feet long. This is but one of several in the town and they are unable to determine just how they were brought in, inasmuch as the trail coming up from the Coast is at no place as wide as the column and there are but very few straight stretches of equal length.

Mr. C's. schooling was, as was that of all children there, three years. The town has two schools, one for boys and one for girls and outside of town a short way was a school for both boys and girls. Children started when seven and were through at the age of ten. They were taught to read but not to spell.

Mr. C. wanted knowledge and tells of reading in bed by the aid of an oil lamp with a floating wick--their only type--and while reading, listening to the music coming across the ravine from Ravello. Ravello was built by some of the ancients who, disagreeing with others in Cama (Scala), rebelled and built their own town on an adjacent hill--hence the name Ravello (rebel). It also has its one notary, one attorney for practice in the lower courts and its one Doctor.

One man in Scala who had secured an outside education, and therefore believed to be crazy by the more ignorant, undertook to improve Mr. C.'s reading and worked with him for three years. I questioned him about Alessandro Manzoni's "I Promessi Sposi" and found him to be much better acquainted with it than I was.

He entered the Italian Navy at 20 and remained in it for three years, and on going back home realized there was nothing for him there and decided to come to America. On coming here he went to Norwalk, Connecticut, and was unable to find work for five months.

The third day after coming here he found he could attend night-school, and although he understood no English he started in. On being given an English reader he said he was surprised at the great number of words he could understand because of their similarity to those of his own language.

He has been a laborer all of his life but has sent his three children through High School and for the last three years, because of lack of work, has had to depend on his older boy for support.

He has his home half paid for and he and his wife--she came over from Ravello--seem happy and are satisfied that their children, with their education, will get along.

B. Life in Spezia, Tuscany

This town is a large manufacturing center of about 150,000. It is also a naval port and has considerable fishing. This city is probably the most modern in Italy. The wealthy section is well laid out and has large and beautiful houses. The poor section has long streets of small dirty white-washed houses, all looking alike. They usually contain two rooms, one in which the family eats and the other in which they sleep. Spezia (pronounced Spetseea) improved greatly, both in business and size, when Mussolini came into power. However, the improvement was only temporary. Unemployment has increased rapidly and relief measures are very limited. Education, though very light, is free. However, few children can remain in school past the age of fifteen. Education in the arts is free and very much encouraged, but this also is not possible to poor people. Amusements are very cheap here, and there are a large number of pageants that are free. Luxuries, on the other hand, are very expensive--radios, cars, etc. can only be bought by the rich. The people spend most of their time visiting one another and getting together for singing and dancing. Nearly everyone can either sing or play some musical instrument.

C. Life in Benevente, Apulia

This town was originally named San Lencio, del Sannio being added by Mussolini. It is very backward in development, there being only one road through the town. The people live mainly on vegetables raised on their own small plot of land. There is only one doctor. He is paid by the township, medical service being free. There are two churches and four priests. These are counted the richest in the town. The schools are taught by the priests. There are four grades but many children do not reach the third or fourth grades and many don't go to school at all. Those workers who have no land, and they are very numerous, depend on the wealthier individuals for work or charity. Work on the farm lasts from sunrise to sunset. The pay (1922) was as low as 20 cents per day. The land is cultivated in a primitive fashion, the plow being dragged along by the farm hands themselves. Only four peasants in the town have oxen. Harvesting is done by the sickle and threshing by hand on a hardened clay surface with a pail. For light they use clay oil lamps, filled with olive oil or sometimes just grease. The richer peasant has a large, many-roomed house, but the poor peasant has only two rooms, one over the other. The top room is used for sleeping. The bottom one is used for cooking and eating. Domestic animals, cattle, etc. are kept in the lower room. In summer everyone goes barefooted. Very few of the inhabitants can afford the luxury of underclothes. There are no trades unions, in fact no organizations of any description among the workers except in the north of Italy, where there is a certain amount of radicalism.

D. Life in Lucca, Tuscany

Mr. M. was born in 1880 in Lucca, Province of Tuscany, Italy, and about 5 miles from Pisa. There is a sufficient amount of comparatively level ground around Lucca to support enough farmers, engaged in raising grain and produce, to take care of a large industrial population.

Mr. M. says that at the time he was there, there were a great number of textile mills engaged in the manufacture of cotton thread, woolen goods and sacks (tow) but the principal industry was the manufacture of olive oil. The oil from the crushed olives, aided by a spray of very hot water, flows into a series of glass-lined cement tanks where it is graded and then pumped out.

The olive pits are dried and form the principal fuel used by the people. While some are given away, most of them are sold for a lire a sack.

The average wage paid at the plants at that time was about four lire per day, the day being from ten to twelve hours.

Mrs. M., who was raised in the country a short distance from Lucca, says that there was absolutely no heat in their schools, although they had quite severe winters. The heating problem was solved by

having each child carry a terra cotta utensil, similar to a flower-pot with handles, filled with coals of dried olive pits. The pits were ignited at home and after the fire had settled down into embers, more pits were added and a layer of ashes placed over all. The pots were then carried to school and placed on the floor between their legs, and the heat thrown out during the day was sufficient to keep them comfortable.

With very few exceptions their cooking utensils were also of terra cotta and their cooking was done over these coals in a fire-place.

A canal, broad and deep, has been brought through the center of the town, evidently from the river Arno, and this canal is the source of all power used in their manufacturing plants. Mr. M. says such establishments extend for a distance of ten miles along this canal and the river. At the time of his leaving (1904) electricity was generally used in business but not available in homes.

The Arno, coming down from the Apennines, rises rapidly in the spring and the farmers quite often have to build dykes to prevent it overflowing their fields. Occasionally when the town itself is in danger, the farmers are asked to permit their lands to be inundated, and the unusual feature of this is that the town then becomes fully liable for all damage incurred. The damage done is determined by a State official and the amounts assessed must be paid by the town within sixty days.

Mr. M. says that Lucca had but four churches. (I should judge that his town had a population of about 50,000 at that time.) One church was in use every day and the other three were used only on the day set apart for the worship of the individual saint whose name the church bore.

Although Mr. M's father was a farmer, he (Mr. M.) preferred to make his living by selling. He bought and sold and traded foods and produce. When he worked at a place to the east of Lucca, up in the hills, he would start at three o'clock in the morning and would walk until eleven that evening to reach the particular place where he could do his most effective trading.

His average load, carried on his back, would be about 50 kilos--which is about 110 pounds. Generally he carried tomato paste into the hills to be exchanged for dried mushrooms which were readily saleable in town. On his trips to the south he carried butter and eggs.

Unlike other portions of Italy, meat was plentiful. The average family ate meat about once a week and could have it as often as their purse permitted. Butcher shops were plentiful and the farmers raised an ample supply of animals.

Mr. M. said that most of the ice used was snow that had been accumulated in winter by the rural population and stored against their summer needs. In winter the snow, which was up to four feet deep, would be gathered and dumped in a great hole which had been dug in the shape of an inverted cone which, he says, was quite often 200 foot deep and about 30 feet in diameter. As the filling of snow neared the top, a layer of chestnut leaves five feet thick would be laid on it, and then about five feet of snow and another layer of leaves. With these several alternate layers the snow would pack and keep indefinitely.

Mr. M. came to New York in 1904 and, speaking no English, took whatever job he could get. He did odd jobs around a hotel for seven months and then went to Galveston, Texas. There was no apparent reason for his selecting Galveston, as he seemed to know no one there, but once there and having located the Italian colony he secured work in a combination grocery and saloon, and after a few years went into business for himself.

On coming to Oakland about ten years ago, he married an Italian woman from near his own home town and established himself as a florist. He prospered for a time, but since the depression started his business has failed and he has had to receive aid from the county.

Through letters from his family in Italy he is told that the people are very heavily taxed. The small towns especially seem to feel the pinch. He says that all industry is fully under the control of Mussolini and that production is regulated. If, for instance, during a given period an excess is produced, production in that line ceases. Wages, however, continue.

On the other hand, during illness the sick one must be taken care of by relatives, as he says there will be no aid extended as long as a relative is believed to have any money to contribute.

In speaking of the political history of Italy, Mr. and Mrs. M. both assured me that at one time Garibaldi had advocated and had tried to secure permission to destroy all Sicilians and Calabrians over the age of four years, the idea being to destroy certain evil characteristics and raise the moral standards through education of the children left alive.

E. Life in a Farming District near Milan

Born of peasant parents who worked as tenants in a farming district. The children received very little education, as they were taken to the fields as soon as they attained to an age and size to do manual labor. This, taking them from school, was done because of the large size of the family and the difficulty of earning a living. The family lived almost exclusively on vegetables and black bread,

at times having the same soup three times a day. The result was that the children grew up sickly and undernourished.

Meat was a luxury, the family having it on an average of three times a year. The younger children went without shoes or stockings while the adults wore shoes with wooden soles and a small leather strap across the toes to hold them on. The few who were able to obtain leather shoes wore them only on special occasions and then only upon entering a building where a special function was taking place. In going to and from the place of entertainment the shoes were tied together and carried over the shoulder.

Amusement, out of the home, was not permitted unless the younger people were accompanied by the parents or an adult of the family. A daughter who broke this rule was not considered a good woman and her reputation was quickly carried all over the community, making it necessary for her to leave the community if she wanted to marry. No younger daughter might marry until her older sisters had married or declared their intention of not doing so.

One of the principal products of the farm was hemp. From hemp-fibre was woven linen. All this work was done by hand, from planting the seed to weaving the cloth. The hemp was planted in rows and carefully tended, the weeds and grass being pulled out by hand. When the hemp was grown it was cut by hand and the stems tied in small bundles about six inches in diameter. These were placed erect in the field until cured or thoroughly dry, very much as wheat is shocked in the United States.

When thoroughly cured the bundles were placed in a pond or creek, crisscrossing them one on the other, and they were weighted down until entirely covered with water. The hemp was allowed to stay in water for seven or eight days, then taken up and each individual stock broken. From this broken stock the fibres were pulled as they slipped from the stock quite easily. The work was done by the women and children.

The fibre was then shredded by pulling it over a board studded with nails until it had been cut into quite fine threads. It was kept in bundles and again tied, producing bundles similar to a skein of yarn. These were then placed in vats and allowed to soak until well bleached, when they were again taken out and dried in the sun. The next operation was to prepare the fibre for thread. For this a round stick about thirty inches long and two inches in diameter, with one end larger and shaped as a spool, was used to wrap the fibre on. This stick, called a "rocca," is held under the armpit and the fibre pulled and twisted with thumb and forefinger into a thread. As the thread is made it is wound on a conical stick about a foot long and held in the opposite hand

from the rocca, so that the thread is twisted from the rocca with one hand and wound on the "fuso" with the other. The thread is then ready for the loom which is also hand operated.

The tenant receives a small portion of the fibre for his labor and in turn pays a small portion of fibre for the weaving of his linen.

After immigration to America, the land of plenty, this family rapidly assumed American modes of living. They were able, at laborer's wages, to live in luxury as compared to their life in Italy. The parents as well as the American-born children began to attend school and to learn the English language. Their children at first were of the same type physically as the parents had been as children, through lack of proper nourishment. The health nurses at school soon convinced them about the proper diet and the family now talks of calories and vitamins.

They have no knowledge about the conditions prevailing in their old home since the induction of the Mussolini regime, but are of the opinion that the masses are in much improved condition under the present Government.

This family is strong in its praise of their adopted country, the opportunities it offers and its government. They believe that Mussolini has advanced Italy in every respect, both the state and the individual, but prefer to be citizens of the United States.

F. Life of a small farmer in Asti, Piedmont

"I was born in Pisano Pisala d'Asti, Italy, the youngest son of eight children, five boys and three girls. My father is a farmer and is now 80 years old. For generations back, our family were farmers, as it is customary in all families to follow in the same line of work as their forefathers before them.

"Our home, which we rented, consisted of one large room, where the whole family slept and lived, a small kitchen, and adjoining the kitchen a room used for the cow. During winter, which lasted about four or five months a year, we kept the cow in there at all times. The cow-dung was piled up against the wall in order to keep the warmth in and the cold out. Right over the cow we arranged a floor or platform of common lumber, where we all slept as it was warmer there, heat coming from the cow. This was the condition there as long as I can remember and up to the time I left for this country.

"I was put to work when I was four years old gathering grass or greens. The family budget only allowed meat once a year, plenty of bread, vegetables, soups, and plenty of new wine.

"When I was ten years old I got a job in a barber shop, where I had to sign a contract for one year, learning that trade. For this I received my board and a few lire. My work was to clean the shop and wash the men's faces after shaving. I also had to put in some work on the farm.

"As a kid and up to the time I left home, I used to get an occasional bath in the river during the summer time but never during the winter months. This was true of the whole family, and my father, who is 80 years old, I have never known to take a bath. This might seem ridiculous but is true, and every one that I knew did the same, as it seems to have been the custom.

"The village that I lived in and where I was born is about the size of Half Moon Bay in San Mateo County here, and my father has never been away from home any farther than the next village, which is about fifteen miles. But with all that the people are a happy lot and in good health.

"I left my home in 1914 for this country and have been here ever since, working at the barber trade, and how have my own shop. I am married and have two children and live fairly well, but seldom eat any meat.

"Two of my older brothers lived in this country for a few years, but have gone back to Italy and the farm. I manage to send my father a few dollars every three or four months. He is still working out, for which he gets five hundred lira per year, or perhaps less now on account of his age."

G. The Life of a Fisherman in Trieste

Born in Trieste in the late eighties. (Trieste was then under the Austro-Hungarian Empire.) As a youth he was engaged in fishing along the Adriatic coast. He claims to have been shipwrecked once off Point Priglia in the northern part of the Adriatic.

The life as a fisherman was rather pleasant. It gave him an opportunity to travel. Sardines were plentiful in that region. Mr. P. explains his job in the following fashion. "I worked with a fleet of about fifteen fishing boats. Each boat was moved by four men. Our driving power was, for the most part, oars, but we also used sails when a favorable wind happened to be blowing in our course. We would take supplies--food and water--for about two weeks and sail along the coast. The nets--large size--were set in the evening usually after sunset. Then two men were selected to be on watch. They would cruise around in a small boat and watch the signals of the nets. Occasionally a shark strays in and tears up all the nets. The watchmen arouse the crew and usually we go after the shark. In stormy weather we

would go ashore, pull our boats on the beach and wait. Sometimes we had to wait several days. For our shelter we used to build little shacks from lumber washed ashore or live in natural caves. All the Adriatic coast abounds with large granite masses which contain very large caves. We would spend the time on shore in mending our nets, fixing boats, or salting the sardines in barrels. If towns were not too far away we would carry the fish there on our shoulders and sell them. The actual coast is sparsely inhabited and transportation facilities are very poor. There are very few roads. If not interrupted by weather and if the "catch" was good we would return home in about a week. Then we would divide the fish and take it to markets in various cities. For this purpose I once went to Venice and as far as Ancona."

In Trieste Mr. P. got acquainted with sailors of various nationalities. One day he learned that a boat which was leaving for New York needed a man for her "black gang"--"black gang" referring to the engine crew which includes stokers, firemen and oilers. He got the job, and arrived in New York in the summer of 1910. He worked here at various trades, including some fishing for three years. He also spent about a year working on a ferryboat.

H. Life of a Poor Peasant Girl in Trieste

My father and mother were very poor; at times, in fact, we had very little to eat. I could not go to school as there was no money to pay tuition. My father worked in the stables of a wealthy man of the town. He may have been well paid, probably was, but brought home so little that it was necessary for me to help. I secured employment as maid in the home of a noble family who lived in a part of the city that I knew nothing about. The beautiful residences surrounded by magnificent grounds were something I had never dreamed of. Like fairyland to me if I'd known anything of fairies.

I had matured at nine years of age and at the time of going into service was twelve, though I looked much older.

I knew nothing bad and was frightened when the son of the house, Diego, 15 years of age, attempted to force his love on me. I escaped and went to the housekeeper with my story. She gave me work with her and sent an older maid to the upstairs work that I had been doing. This maid was taken sick and when I took her place Diego again annoyed me though with more violence. On hearing of this the housekeeper sent me home to tell my mother. My parents were very harsh with me; drove me from the house and told me they would beat me if I came home again with such a story. My father said I should feel honored that a nobleman should stoop to notice me.

I was duly impressed and believed that such relations with a boy so far above me were something to be proud of, so I gave myself to him, with the usual result. At last the lady, Diego's mother, noticed my condition and questioned me kindly. In my ignorance I told her the truth. She was quiet, like one about to die. She convinced me that I must say nothing to anyone and she would find a way out for Diego and me.

She sent Diego away--where, I do not know--and took me home to my parents, with whom she had a prolonged conference at which I was not allowed to be present. She perhaps gave them money.

There was a man, Tony, 35 years old, who had wished to marry me, but he was considered too old, and also the money I earned--about $3.00 a month which my parents appropriated--would stop when I married. However, it was a case of finding someone to marry me and support me and my baby, so Tony, who wanted a young and pretty wife at any cost, did not object to the baby. In fact, I believe he was proud of my escapade.

Tony had been in New York where he had been in business with his brother, so a few days after the wedding I left my old home and with my husband sailed away to far-off America. Tony's brother met us in New York and soon convinced my husband that more money could be made in San Francisco. Tony and his brother opened a saloon on Howard Street, the poor section, and I seldom saw either of them except at meal time.

I could not read my own language and could speak no English so my life was very lonely till my baby was born.

There was gambling and riotous goings on in the saloon--we lived upstairs--and I was afraid to leave our rooms. My husband sent in the food for me to prepare. Until after my second child was born I had never been on the street alone and only once with my husband.

One night in a quarrel over money a man shot my brother-in-law, and my husband, in self-defense, he said, killed his brother's assailant. We left San Francisco hurriedly and went to a small town seventy-five miles away. We had no money; probably it was used to hush the matter up.

My husband made a poor living gambling. His health, never the best, failed entirely, and four years after the trouble in San Francisco I was left a widow with four children to support. I returned to San Francisco and secured employment, and with the help given me by the authorities have been able to take care of my children and send them to school.

I pray each day that my children may have more happiness than I have had.

I. Life of a Farmer in Castelbuono near Palermo

Castelbuono is located about 60 miles southeast of Palermo on the island of Sicily. Due to its hilly and rocky nature and to the lack of water supply as also the facilities of cultivation, this spot was unsuitable to horticulture. Its main product of industry was "manna", a kind of sap drawn from the trunks of trees and used for medical purposes. There was some gardening done, enought for family use, in rock plots of land, but because the hoe was their only implement, the cultivation was very poor. So important and of such great help was the hoe, that when these farmers came here they complicated their farm-work by insisting on using the hoe when other implements would have facilitated the cultivation. They firmly believed that crops taken care of with a hoe would grow up much better and yield more produce.

It was customary here as it was in nearly all the European countries of twenty-five years ago to live together in a village and own plots of ground two and three miles out. The homes were all built of stone, the ground floor being used for animals--the donkeys and oxen were the beasts of burden. The upper floor was inhabited by the family. It consisted of several large rooms with stone floors, small windows and very simple and rude furniture. In one corner of the kitchen there was a large brick oven in which they baked a large quantity of bread. The fire-place served as a stove. Those families who did not have ovens at home had their dough baked in the oven at the public square for a few pennies. This was the typical peasant home. Of course each family had its own loom, for everything was home spun.

Their greatest diversions were the religious festivities which whipped their religious feeling almost to fanaticism, and then to wild ecstasy when it was time for the dancing and games. These people had their occasional get-togethers, especially whenever a baptism or marriage occurred. Then their festivities would last at least two days. For entertainment at these parties the musician played his accordion and the rest danced, and for variety, the more daring, of which there are many among peasants, sang incessantly. The refreshments always consisted of wine and a variety of Italian home-made cookies. A very common dish served was toasted chick-peas. These helped to increase one's thirst for wine. The interesting thing for us at such parties, would have been to notice the ideal girl who was shy and coy and didn't dare look at a young man unless she was engaged to him. And that is one reason why now there is a very marked and continuous battle going on between the children and the mothers thus brought up because the girls of the second generation who manage to break loose from the strict old-fashioned conventions go wild and mess up their lives. They are not taught to look at things squarely and to learn to weigh them carefully.

In such conditions as these Miss C said her parents were born. Her father and mother are both of peasant stock having led, and are still leading, a very hard life. At the age of seven her father's step-mother poisoned his food because she hated him, but he was saved by his grandmother. He started working when a very small boy for a few pennies a day. He never had the opportunity to go to school, so he was always illiterate as were also his sister and brother. The children were all treated very mean and as a result it hardened their character, putting them always on the defensive, the cruel treatment being reflected in their own personality. Mr. C of course, being without a trade worked at various occupations for wealthy people. He was a sheep-herder for a good many years and also a hired man for the more well-to-do farmers. He came to the United States when he was about twenty-five and worked two years as a laborer. The wages were very little but in comparison with the few pennies he had been receiving, to him it seemed like a mint. He managed soon to have a good sized bank account. After his return to Castelbuono he met Mrs. C and after a few months courting, he married her and two weeks after their marriage they came to San Francisco. It was after the fire.

Mrs. C had also had a hard life but more through circumstances than bad treatment. Her mother, having been left an orphan, was urged to marriage at the age of fifteen and she did not object very much because at the house of her guardians she was treated as a slave. She had a son from her first husband before his death. Then she remarried and had a daughter from her second. A few years after she married him his brother killed someone and through cleverness and a very poor system of justice, Mrs. C's father was accused and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. During that time the family got along on very little and many were the times when they went hungry. Mrs. C's mother earned her living by doing housework and sewing for other people. She let her daughter attend school through the fourth grade and then because she grew up very fast and looked older than she really was, she had to leave school and stay at home and be a good young lady. Mrs. C was seventeen when she met Mr. C and they were married. Her step-brother had gone off to Argentina and is there now with a very large family and in a very poor financial condition. He has not seen his sister or mother since his departure.

Mr. and Mrs. C. continued their struggle for existence even here. In San Francisco Mr. C worked several years as a laborer and then moved to the San Joaquin valley where for about twenty years he made an attempt at farming; but all he could do was earn enough for the family to live on. He was a very poor business man because in his great scheme of owning vast acres of land he lost all and after his death in 1932 he left the family penniless and without a home. But because the landlord was kind and in sympathy with their hard struggle, he gave them four acres and a home.

Mr. and Mrs. C had six children--three boys and three girls--all very strong and healthy. The oldest is twent -six and the youngest eleven. They were all sent to school, of course, but just one, Miss C, who is now in Berkeley, was extremely dissatisfied with her home conditions, and wanted to climb at least one step higher. She said it was very difficult to convince her folks to let her come to the university because they believed that only the wild and ill-bred people could possibly go to a university and anyway a girl alone would not be safe away from home. Miss C was persistent and determined, so she won. Though she has had to work her way through, she is extremely happy that she set her foot down to do what she wanted because now that she has had the opportunity to live away from home, she has a better perspective on the life she led as a child, the life her family is now living and the difficulties existing between the foreigners and the Americans.

Miss C states that as far back as she could remember she and her brothers and sisters have always had to work extremely hard in the field. When she was only ten she could remember helping her brother load up the truck with 60 lb. lugs of tomatoes which she lifted up to him. And on very blistering hot days she was out in the fields with just a shirt and pair of overalls, weeding the vegetables. For years she led such a life and her brothers and sisters are doing it even now. When she was in high school she never had a chance to join any clubs or go to any social affairs because her parents forbade it. Consequently, she was considered by her schoolmates as very reserved and shy and unwilling to take part in anything because, knowing the different conditions which existed in other families, she was ashamed of hers and would rather keep still than state her condition and justify her actions. She went about her work in the field, home and school quietly and without grumbling, but as a result she was very pessimistic. She knew that foreigners were not held in very high estimation by the Americans so the result of that was an inferiority complex. Her brothers and sisters not being quite so sensitive nor so particular about their home conditions were not so easily affected by the apparent snobbishness. Miss C refused to invite any of her schoolmates to her home because their house was very simple with almost no furniture and her folks not always spick and span. They live in a small Italian community where all the homes and people are alike. Her folks did not have a chance to learn English, Italian always being spoken at home. They had no books or radio--the old Italian customs prevailed. Their life was rather drab.

Then when Miss C came to the university she was at first hampered by poor English, a very limited vocabulary, and very little general information. She felt that the intelligence tests she had to take were very unfair because of her foreign background and she feels the same way for any child born of foreign parents. But with the change of environment, Miss C opened up gradually like a flower. She speaks correct English, she has increased her vocabulary, is

better read and is no longer timid and shy though she still gives people the impression of being reserved. This is perhaps because Miss C enjoys immensely being with people in order to be able to observe them in her own way.

Miss C now understands her childhood life and the problems her parents have had to face. She thinks that it is the second generation who should act as the connection between the Americans and the foreigners. She feels sorry for people like her parents because they cannot understand their children who come back from school filled with new ideas, nor the Americans who do not consider them as equals, but she thinks a great deal can be done for them and she is going to try her best to do it. She knows that her family is happier here than they ever were in Italy, but she believes that conditions for them can be improved and she is going to do it.

J. Life of an Agricultural Laborer in Sicily

Mr. B came to this country in 1900 from Ventimiglia, province of Palermo, Sicily. At that time he estimates his home town had a population of about nine thousand people, most of whom, like the majority of his countrymen, were farmers, leaving town before daylight and returning after dark.

As in other parts of Sicily most of the land was owned by the nobility, and the common people of his section rented the land in quarter acres and half acres, depending upon the size of the family to be provided for, and at an annual rental of from four to five dollars. Practically everything they ate was raised by themselves. There were no industries aside from the small flour mills and to these they would carry their wheat which would be ground into flour at a cost of from four cents to five cents per sack. The variation in price was caused by the fact that two types of power were available--water and steam. Most of them preferred flour ground out by water power, mainly because it was cheaper and partially because the flour ground by steam power with its faster stones had a different taste.

Mr. B worked with his father in the fields almost from infancy. Every pair of hands could contribute something to the family's wlfare. He had but six months of school as a child and attributes the fact that he has always been a laborer to that.

He pointed out that all children are registered at birth and when they are six years old the parents are called upon by the government agent and told that the child is of school age and should be sent.

The parent may or may not send the child to school, and there is no penalty for his not doing so, as there were no compulsory education-

al laws. On the other hand when the male child becomes nineteen the parent is notified that at a certain time the child will be called for military duty. If the young man fails to show up on the date set the whole family is jailed.

In the army a certain amount of schooling is compulsory. Each man attends school for one hour, three times a week as long as he is in the service. Mr. B learned to read and write while in the army.

Schools for boys and schools for girls were entirely separate and a long ways apart. The girls were taught by women only, the boys by men.

When he was released from the army he said he was disgusted with working conditions there and decided to come to the United States, where he felt sure he could better himself. He was twenty-four at this time.

His first job was on a sugar cane plantation outside of New Orleans where he worked with Negroes, twelve hours a day for one dollar. He felt that the working man's condition here was not much better than in the place he had just left.

He had a number of unpleasant experiences with employment agencies of that time, 1901-1904, where for a fee of five dollars you could be sent to a job where the wages never exceeded one dollar and twenty-five cents for a twelve hour day and often the wages received were less than those promised by the agency.

At that, he says, he and his wife could have meat three times a day at a daily cost of ten cents. Liver, heart, and tripe could be had for nothing as they were considered waste products. Manufactured goods gave more service; a blue serge suit bought by him in 1904 for fifteen dollars he wore for eleven years. A six-room brick house in Chicago he could rent for five dollars per month.

K. Life of a Stockraiser in Lombardy.

Mr. L. age about 55, was born in Lombardy. His father raised stocks owning part of the land and renting part. Mr. L. attended school until his fourteenth year and says the schools were divided into what would correspond to our grammar and high schools. Children attended a half day each day, but their studies were intensive and no recess was permitted. Their school holidays were Wednesday and Sunday. There was no vocational training and religion played no part in their school program.

Most of the surrounding country was given up to farms, vineyards and orchards. He, like all of his countrymen that I have met, laid stress on the fact that a great many chestnuts were raised. While a number of the farms were owned outright by the farmers operating them, the majority were operated by tenants. The wealthier class owned large tracts and were anxious to secure tenant farmers.

A farmer wishing to secure a place, would approach the owner or his agent and, if satisfactory, the owner would build a house of proper size to house the family, equip the place with all necessary tools and equipment; furnish seeds and supply two horses, two cows, two sheep. In return for this, the tenant would pay half the value of the crop each year. Arrangements could be made for the purchase of the place on a time basis. No tenant farmer could be turned off of his land without fourteen months notice. Most of the produce from the farms was sold in the adjoining city in a government controlled open-air market. A small fee was paid for the privelege of selling there. No liquor was permitted to be sold there and no live stock.

At regular intervals livestock fairs were held at which the farmers would do their trading. As to the stores--Mr. L. says they adhered strictly to their line--a druggist sold drugs, a grocer did not sell meats. Each store was a special shop.

The sale of tobacco and salt, being government controlled, made these their two most expensive necessities. While taxes were considered high they were offset somewhat by the fact that no one paid for the water used, nor did they pay for medical care or cemetary costs. Each male was subject to a poll tax of five francs per year but this tax could be worked out at the rate of one franc for a day's labor.

L. Life on a Farm in Terracina, Latium

My home town is little known to the world and strange to say it is very close to Rome. It's about sixty-five miles and the second nearest town from Rome. Everybody knows of the Appian Road with its endless rows of famous old Roman funeral monuments that line it on both sides. It starts from the south gate of Rome and continues on into Naples. It runs a straight line until it reaches the town of Terracina, where it goes under a cliff called Mount St. Angelo. Mountains of limestone are on the left of your way to Terracina, and to the right is the sea, along the shore line of which stretches an oak forest many miles in length. Some thirty miles from Terracina on the way to Rome is a strange region called the Pontine Marshes. These Marshes cover an area of some 150,000 acres of remarkably fertile land, but, unfortunately, infested with mosquitoes. Owing to inundation and malaria it is today almost entirely deserted. Once, ages ago, it was

densely populated but disease has driven the people out of the plain. Many fruitless attempts were made by the emperors and popes to drain the marshes. Twenty towns are supposed to have existed in this plain where now not a trace is left of these towns, not even the single wall of a house.

My home town is almost free from vice. Practically no drunkenness. No one is rich and no one very poor. Every one lends a helping hand. Every one is busy, though for the women the house work is simple.

The pig plays a double role; he is the general scavenger and later killed and made into sausages. The killing of the family pig is one of the big events of the year.

The meals are simple; for breakfast, coffee with bread and oil; lunch, a variation of many soups, a dish of vegetables fried in oil, to which water is added; for supper, soup again. Often there is soup three times a day followed by a dish of olives. The bread is baked in great community ovens. A prayer is said and sign of the cross made before and after each meal. Meals are usually eaten in the kitchen. There are practically no wood-burning stoves, and the cooking and heating is done with open charcoal fires.

Sunday is the great day for visiting, also it is the time for walking up and down the road in groups. The girls never go out alone, nor after dark, for they must be careful or they will never be married. Most of the work is done out of doors, raising vegetables often on a bit of land, tending the orange or lemon crop, picking up olives, etc.

Women wear colored petticoats; on the heads of the older women are silk handkerchiefs, on the younger, white caps as head dresses.

Around Christmas time, to the family pig is added the family turkey. A more simple, kindly frugal people would be hard to imagine.

M. Minor Sketches

1. Piedmont

a. This man and his wife came from the small town of Iona, a place with about 9,000 inhabitants. Both lived as the ordinary peasant does: their home was three small rooms, poorly furnished, and their food, substantial of its kind, macaroni, fish, vegetables and claret, with now and then, on a Sunday or a holiday, a chicken or a duck. They both worked in manufacturing plants, the man in a cotton factory and the woman in a vermicelli factory. They averaged ten hours working time a day, and the pay of the woman was about equal to forty cents in American money, the man's being about one dollar and ten cents. They worked

this way all their lives as had their parents before them. The father had been killed in battle with the Austrians in the late war and this left the man with the care of his mother and two sisters.

b. I was born in Castelleto in the province of Alessandria. My father was a teacher. In my youth, I went to the elementary school from which I graduated at the age of thirteen. Then I went to the Royal Technical school in Genoa for three years. My father wanted me to be a professor, but the instructors introduced by the fascist government and the high fees, barred me from the liceum. So I went in search of a small position in some office. Unfortunately, I got into a quarrel with a fascist and he beat me up and then had me arrested. I could not really understand why he did this, because I was a member of the fascist youth group then. I had to remain in jail for a month with common criminals, communists and socialists. I thought at that time that they were all the same, but I found out the difference there in prison, and turned against fascism. A month after the arrest I was brought into court and charged with resistance to the authorities. However, when the judge heard my case, he dismissed the charge and set me free. Then my father advised me to go to the United States, because if I stayed I would endanger his position, and besides, some day or other the fascists would kill me.

2. Lombardy

a. This man came from the province of Lombardy...Lombardy is the great agricultural district of Italy, producing wheat, corn and rice and possessing great orchards of oranges, lemons, olives and mulberry trees. Practically all the good land is owned in large tracts by the rich and rented out in small sections to the peasant class. The soil is very rich, the richest in Italy, but the peasant class has little or no opportunity of acquiring any of it.

The work on the farms is done with old-fashioned implements, such as the spade and the hoe and wooden plows, and the scythe. The work is hard and the hours many, for wages that would be considered a starvation wage in the United States. Small children are put to work to add the few cents a day which they make to the total.

The houses are built of rough stone and mortar, covered with a sort of plaster. They are, as a rule, two or three room affairs, and a kitchen. The floors are either of stone or brick, and the rooms are scantily furnished; three or four chairs, a bench or two, and a table.

The cooking is done, ordinarily, by the use of charcoal. The food is plain, consisting mainly of bread, mush, coarse macaroni, occasionally a little meat or fish, plenty of onions, garlic, lettuce, olive oil and chestnuts ground into meal and mixed with wheat flour. Wine is the national drink.

b. C was born near Do Comi, province of Lombardy. Her mother and father were renters of a small farm near Lake Como. The father was a foundry worker who was paid three lire a day and who walked to and from his work every day, for thirty years. The distance was three miles. The mother and children under twelve operated the farm for the production of food. There were seven children, four girls and three boys.

They lived a simple life. Food consisted entirely of vegetables, with meat and wine three times a year. The bread was made of a mixture of corn and wheat, half and half. Meat and wine were usually obtained for Christmas, New Year's and their patron saint's day. These were luxuries and only obtainable at great sacrifice.

C entered school at the age of six and finished at the age of nine, three years of school being all that were obtainable unless the parents were able to pay for private instruction. C herself entered a milk factory at the age of ten. She worked eleven hours for thirty-five centesimi a day (seven cents a day) and had to walk to and from her home, a distance of some three or four miles. Her older sisters were also employed in this mill.

At fifteen the oldest sister married, and the family moved to Como, the father continuing his work in the foundry, the sisters in the silk mills and the brothers in the carpenter trade.

Traders and workers had societies or unions to settle grievances between employers and employees. Any disputes as to lay-off or unemployment were referred to an arbitration board composed equally of a number of employers and employees. Their verdict was final. A discharged employee could appeal to this board.

3. Tuscany

a. Colle is a scattered rural village in Tuscany. Most of the inhabitants are occupied in agricultural pursuits. F was the youngest of five children and the only male. They owned the house they lived in and rented a small ranch which the fmaily worked. F recalls they led a meager existence. Although encouraged and admonished by the Church and State, the parents were economically and socially penalized for having a large family. Education was free up to what we call the primary school fourth grade, after which one wishing to continue must attend a private pay-school, usually under the superintendance of the Church. Their father could not afford it. Education not being compulsory, F, at the age of eleven years was put to work on a nearby farm earning an average of fifteen cents per day. He often wanted to leave the farm for the Carrara marble quarries where an intimate friend of the family worked as a cutter foreman; he could earn more but the quarries were sixteen miles away and in those days far beyond commuting distance.

Two older sisters married in the meanwhile. F says the girls marry too young in Italy. The cause may have been to escape the uncertain economic condition. When he was sixteen years of age he took a job with a French vineyardist in Corsica; the wages were more and he was learning the wine making business. As conditions and the general standard of living were higher than in Italy, he resolved to stay and later develop a wine business of his own.

b. This immigrant, with his wife and two children, came from Tuscany. His home was a four room stone and mortar house and a barn twice the size of the house. The home was comfortably furnished from a farmer's point of view. Most of the cooking was done in an outdoor oven. There was no running water in the house and the lighting was furnished by a kerosene lamp and a homemade candle. They had a plentiful supply of food, for they raised their own vegetables, ducks and chickens.

He leased a small farm situated close to a river called the Arno, ten miles from the city of Pisa. He had always been in the dairy business as had his parents before him. He had a milk route in Pisa and was making a comfortable living from his dairy produce until an unknown cattle disease swept his small herd of cattle away. Not only did he lose his animals but the surrounding country was swept clean of animals as well. The epidemic had apparently originated in Africa and was brought in from that country by the so-called beef cattle which the government used for slaughter.

c. Antonio was born in a small village near Florence. His father ran a local tile works and cermaics factory and was quite well-off. He had quite a large business and was well-known in the village. His father was of the northern Italian type, evidently, as he was tall and blue-eyed and had red hair. His mother was the daughter of a local politician, also very well-known in the village. She was the southern type of Italian, short and dark.

His family lived in a large house in the main street. They were fairly well-off and moved among the higher circles of town society. The factory was at the edge of the town and employed quite a few workers.

Antonio remembers quite well the little village with its main street and plaza. The town was close to Florence and he remembers going into the bigger city on feast days and days of special celebration. He remembers the feasts and the holidays clearly, for the whole village would declare a holiday and he used to watch the crowd in the streets from his window.

When he was older Antonio went down to the factory. But he did not work there as a laborer. Instead he learned various jobs and practiced a little of each kind of work. His father expected him to follow in his footsteps.

4. Apulia

a. This man came from the small town of Molfetta, facing the Adriatic sea. His occupation was that of fisherman. His family conditions were the same as those of all the poorer working people--work from early morning until night, with barely enough to live on.

The family was a large one--father, mother, three boys and seven girls. Their home consisted of four rooms and an attic. It was very poorly furnished from an American point of view. The women had beds with mattresses but the men slept on straw pallets in the attic.

The furniture consisted of a few chairs and benches, a long table and a sort of a cupboard containing a few dishes and pans. The food consisted mainly of fish, macaroni, vegetables, once in a while tame duck and, of course, wine. They had three goats which the youngest boy herded. These supplied them with milk and cheese. Their bread was the regular Italian kind, baked in the shape of large round loaves, in an outdoor oven.

Their wants were simple and the clothing they wore was made to last a long time.

b. S was one of five children born in Bari. They all lived in an old stone house of the most ancient kind where the people lived on the upper floor and the animals below. Ever since he could remember he had to go help his father wring from the soil the few fruits and vegetables which constituted their meagre diet. In fact, their meal almost always consisted of green or dried horse-beans.

It was a tough life to have to plod along envying those who had an education, clothes, food and the power to command. So bitter did he become against all human beings that he has never married, fearing, he says, that this would mean a voluntary enslavement. As long as you were poor, he claims, not only is life hard but, in addition, there is never any hope of getting justice. Things have been somewhat lifted by Mussolini, he claims.

B. 1922 to 1935: The Italy of Mussolini

The preceding sketches speak for themselves. They give us a vivid picture of the conditions under which the vast majority of Italians lived and still live for that matter. From an environment like this they came to the United States and to California. In other

words, they came from an impoverished land where the fundamental products were agricultural and with living conditions among the lowest in all Europe, to the most highly industrialized nation in the world, where the minimum of external comfort, of labor-saving devices, housing conditions, etc. must have, at first, seemed like paradise to the average immigrant. It is not to be wondered at then, if these immigrants, after the first flush of pleasure at their freedom in the new land, turned their thoughts to their old home and eagerly welcomed any indications that suggested the possibility that there, too, a new world was dawning. Not only did distance lend enchantment to the view, but a most amazingly efficient propaganda helped to convince them, in spite of numerous suggestions to the contrary, that a new deal for Italy had really begun and that Mussolini was its prophet. Because of the role that this Italy of Mussolini and the definite conception of life and of the state it promulgates, has played and still plays among the Italians of California and the rest of the United States, it is highly desirable to give more than a perfunctory description of the accomplishments of the fascist regime in order to distinguish accurately between fact and legend.

Since we are concerned with the Italy of 1922-1935 only insofar as it touches the lives of Italians and their children living here and then only insofar as it either interferes with their assimilation to American mores or imports into our scene conceptions and behavior at variance with our accepted standards and theories, we shall stress a few points only. These are, the fascist attitude toward parliamentariansim and the free expression of opinion, the role and the rights of women, the theory of education, the rights of labor, and, lastly the use of force. In order to

justify my going into these questions in a survey like the following, let me give but one example of the repercussions which Mussolini's edicts have had in San Francisco.

> Under a fiat issued recently by Benito Mussolini all women in Italy are to be removed from industries. The edict has raised a more or less heated controversy in the Italian quarter of San Francisco. Reaction to the order among the Latins depends largely on whether the man interviewed is a partisan of Il Duce and whether women members of his family are working in any industry in San Francisco. Some very interesting opinions are expressed.
>
> Defenders of Mussolini's new ruling support him with the argument that jobs interfere with woman's primary duty, that of building up the home, properly rearing the family and increasing the population. They contend that work interferes with the propagation of the race and impedes the proper functions of women; that it breeds independence and this, in itself, produces physical and moral habits that are directly antagonistic to conception, and that, in consequence, smaller families result. Further, women in industry crowd men out of jobs, and unemployed men give up all idea of having a family at all. Some of those interviewed go so far as to declare that if women were taken out of industry in America it would solve the unemployment problem in this country and end the economic distress.
>
> Others, on the contrary, argue that the earning capacity of the heads of families has been reduced to such an extent that the daughters and often the mothers must go to work in order to earn enough to keep the family. They also contend that women all down through history have borne their share of work; that among many tribes they do all the work while the men content themselves with hunting or war.
>
> During the World War they cite the fact that women had to take their places in the munitions' factories or in the fields beside her husband, and yet, in addition to her daily toil, raise a large family.
>
> It is pointed out that it is the very religion of the Italian wife that she should be blessed with a large family, and that even if she is employed in an industry she will perform this function.
>
> Whether Mussolini's order will work to the benefit of Italy is a mooted question among the Italians here. They are watching the experiment with keen interest. They say that in Italy already women are being taken out of industry at a rapid rate and that within the next year the effect of that fiat for good or ill will soon be demonstrated.

If more evidence is required concerning the repercussions of Italian fascism in the United States let me call attention first to Mussolini's order that an Italian citizen must remain an Italian citizen, no matter where he lives, even to the seventh generation and second, to the oath taken by those entering the Fascist League of North America which runs as follows:

"I swear on my honor-

"To serve with fidelity and discipline the Fascist idea of society--based on religion, the Fatherland,* and the family, and to respect the authority of the League and of the hierarchy and the traditions of our race.

"To love, serve, obey and exalt the United States of America and to render obedience and respect to its constitution and its laws.

"To keep alive the cult with Italy as the Fatherland and the eternal light of civilization and greatness.

"To combat with all my might theories and ideas tending to subvert, corrupt and disgrace religion, the Fatherland,** or the family.

"To do my best to improve my culture, my physique, and my morale, to render me fit for the part I am to play in serving the nation in its hour of greatness.

"To submit to the discipline of the hierarchy of the Fascist League of North America."

---

* The Fatherland, of course, is Italy, not the United States.

** It is precisely such an attitude which makes us wonder, when a man like the present National Head of the American Legion, a native Californian of Italian origin, combats communism whether he is doing so at the suggestion of fascist Italy or of his own volition. And this would be true, in view of the close bonds between successful Italian businessmen and official fascist Italy, whether he belonged to the Fascist League of North America or not.

Small wonder then that at the inaugural meeting of the Fascio d' Ambrosoli in Brooklyn, over which a Columbia University Professor presided, this professor should, upon entering, have been greeted with the fascist salute and the famous nonsense syllables: "Eja! Eja! Alala!" *

1. Parliamentarianism and the Expression of Free Speech, 1923-1935

Mussolini's attitude toward parliamentarianism is well-known. The best expression of his viewpoint was given in his report before the Chamber of Deputies introducing the new electoral law, March 2, 1928. ** Let me give a few outstanding passages:

> "The masses by themselves alone are incapable of forming spontaneously a collective will of their own, and even less capable of proceeding spontaneously to a selection of men to represent them...The problem of government is never solved by relying on an illusory will of the masses: it is solved by a wise choice of the directing minds. But the directing minds as a matter of fact are not always the best minds, nor do they always employ the best methods of direction.... The natural course of events often brings forth those men who are least worthy to be the leaders of the masses. Experience teaches that it is the schemers, the agitators, the demagogues who guide the masses when they are left uncontrolled...
>
> "The third characteristic of the system adopted in the projected law is the predominant and decisive function given, in the election of deputies, to the National Grand Council of Fascism.. Council (is) the supreme coordinating organ, of the various organized forces of the regime, i.e. the synthesis of national life... The Grand Council, therefore, is adapted especially to the function given it by the proposed law, viz., to choose from the list of candidates made up on the basis of the proposals of the various organizations, syndical and non-syndical, the men most suitable, (and) to complete this choice when the insufficiency of the lists of candidates make it necessary, by the inclusion of other persons....,

---

* For full details on this subject cf. Marcus Duffield's famous article, in Harpers, June 1929, entitled "Mussolini's American Empire, an expose which led indirectly to the government's suppression of the League which was then promptly reorganized as the Italian Labor Institute (Istituto del Lavoro Italiano).

** Translated in Current History, May, 1928, pp. 180-188.

"This body (the electoral body) is not, according to the usual fiction of the old electoral systems, called upon to choose the deputies, but rather to approve the choice made by the organ which sums up in itself all the forces of the nation. This approval does not, and cannot, apply to the individual names; it concerns the list as a whole, in which the names are only the expression of a political trend. It is, then, essentially this trend which the electors are called upon to approve; therefore the elector does not vote, according to article 6 of the projected law, for the names on the list but rather for the symbol on the list, viz. the Fascio Littorio (Lictoral Fasces). Thus we return to the reality of things, which has always been ignored by the electoral systems of the past (!) The elector...is called upon to declare whether the general political trend which the regime follows and which finds in the list a concrete expression, is approved by him. This already is quite difficult, but certainly that which is thus required of him is less far from possibility than the old system.

"The election, therefore, is reduced to a simple expression of agreement or dissent regarding a system of government, a political trend; an expression not difficult even for a person of average education and average culture to make, and which is formulated by a simple yes or no."

Mussolini's language here is simple and direct. It does not require great acumen to realize how completely he despises the so-called masses, and how little intelligence he credits them with possessing. Nor does it require any great insight to point out how utterly meaningless and irrational is such a statement as that a person is to vote for the Fascio Littorio and that this constitutes a return to the reality of things. When he quotes the formula: "Democracy does not exist in Nature", he is literally saying nothing and insofar as this "formula" means anything at all, it is not true*. Indeed, among all those "primitive" tribes that possess a clan organization and among many who do not, democracy does exist.

---

* He continues with this bombastic pretense at an acquitance with political science by attributing to Sir Henry Maine a fundamental law of social life defined as the law of imitation, by the operation of which the great mass of men tends to do that which is desired by a few dominating elements, the so-called "directing minds."

The utter confusion and insincerity of Mussolini's utterances on this point come out most clearly in his report to the Senate of June 8, 1923, where he contends that parliamentarianism has been gravely if not mortally wounded by two of the typical social phenomena of the Italy of the early twentieth century--syndicalism and the newspapers. Syndicalism, he insists, has for its main purpose the withdrawal of the interests of the labor organizations, from the manifest incompetence of parliament; * and the newspapers, he claims, directed as they are by the leaders of thought, of industry and of daily life, deal with the difficult and complex problems of the state with so much more competence than parliament itself that the importance of a parliament is thereby tremendously reduced.** And what did Mussolini do when thus confronted with the impotence of Parliament and the competence of the syndicalist labor organizations and of the newspapers, the two forces that had reduced the Parliament to such straits? He wept copious tears, like the carpenter in Alice in Wonderland and voraciously devoured all three. And when he had destroyed Parliamentary government, free speech and the freedom of

---

* This is, of course, an utterly incorrect statement of the facts and it was not due to any ignorance of the true situation on the part of Mussolini.

** "Il parlamentarismo e stato ferito non a morte, ma gravemente, da due fenomeni tipici del nostro tempo: da una parte il sindicalismo, dall' altra il giornalismo; il sindicalismo, che raccoglie in determinate associazioni tutti quelli che hanno interessi speciali e particolari da tutelare e che vogliono sottrarli alla incompetenza manifesta dell' assemblea politica; ed infine il giornalismo, che e il parlamento quotidiano, la tribuna quotidiana, dove uomini venuti dall' universita dalle scienze, dalla industria, dalla vita vissuta, vi sviscceranno i problemi con una competenza che si trova assai difficilmente sui banchi del Parlamento. Ed allora questi due fenomeni tipici dell' ultimo periodo della civilta capitalistica.

the press, it was literally true that

> "....Answer came there none--
> And this was scarcely odd, because
> He'd eaten every one."

How completely freedom of thought has been destroyed in fascist Italy we all know. Let it be said to the credit of the Italian universities, however, that they resisted to the bitter end the heavy hand of Mussolini. So idiotic were at times the attempts at suppression that in 1926 the puppet mayor of Milan suspended the National Convention of Philosophers because they were discussing the problem of freedom of thought. As though the State ever had anything to fear from the echolalia of professional philosophers! One of the delightful ways of destroying intellectual freedom in the universities was to organize the students into "fascist university groups" whose task it was to keep close watch over the faculty and report to the authorities any statements or remarks that were intended to be or could be regarded as directed against the policies of the government. *

Newspapers, of course, are only allowed to print news items, generally with official comments, given to them by the Government Press Bureau. Even the foreign correspondents are rigorously controlled. They are warned that certain statements are intended for internal consumption and not to be sent out beyond the Italian frontier.

---

* For interesting details on this whole question cf. C.H.Abad, Italy and Intellectual Freedom, Current History, January, 1931. As far as concerns the utilization of students for espionage purposes, we in the United States have no right to throw stones. Such espionage is directed and encouraged by university heads, presumably under pressure from their board of trustees, in quite a number of State Universities, particularly in the far west.

As a result of this policy, universities and elementary teaching has sunk to an unbelievably low level. Even some of the most ardent fascist sympathizers have, at times, been appalled by the degradation of the thought and the flood of irrationalism that has followed in the wake of the fascist educational program. When, however, in 1930 a fascist professor made a plea in the Senate for freedom of thought in the universities, at least, he was answered by the Minister of Education: "Too much freedom exists already." And this is quite in consonance with the whole psychology of fascism. This is precisely what lies behind the neurotic insistence upon continuous activity which plays so predominant a role among fascist politicians. Flee from leisure, from inactivity, as you would from the devil! In the advice to departing emigrants, quoted before, Mussolini exhorts them when they are on the boat that they should beware of indolence.* "Sleep" he cries, "rather sleep!" Otherwise, indeed, the departing Italian might think. And that is dangerous.

2. The Rights of Women and the Theory of Education 1922-1935

The one distinctive achievement of the nineteenth and twentieth century in the struggle for social justice, was the progress made along three fronts: first, the freeing of women from the semi-enslaved condition in which they had been living for thousands of years; second, the insistence that education should not be dominated by religious considerations and should be liberal and objective and third, the right of labor to organize militantly for the purpose of improving its condition and obtaining a fair share of the goods of life. Let us turn first to the rights of women and the condition of education, particularly elementary education, since the advent of Mussolini.

---

* Rifugga dall' ozio; piutosto dorma!

Mussolini from the beginning of his seizure of power, left no doubt about his attitude toward women and their role in the new Italy. They were to occupy themselves exclusively with their biological function of bringing children into the world and keeping the household in proper order. They were not to have much to say about the education of their children, particularly the boys and they were, of course, not to compete with men in any line. These views he expressed very clearly in a speech before the Congress of Fascist Women in 1923 and with his customary threadbare rhetoric. Apparently he also thought it necessary, on this occasion, since he was addressing mere women who must be impressed and who were to be put in their proper place by the dominant sex, to indulge in a militant display of fascist masculinity.

To the assembled women he told: We fascists do not belong to that group of vain and sceptical individuals who desire to undervaluate the political and social importance of women. Tell me, of what value is the vote? You have it! But even in those days when women did not vote and had no desire to vote, in those days both distant and near, women have always had a preponderating influence upon the fate of human society. Indeed it is because of this that the fascist women who so courageously wear the black shirts and who have massed themselves around our standards, are destined to write a splendid page in our history, are destined to leave memorable reminders of themselves and to make an ever remembered and profound contribution

to the emotions and achievements of Italian fascism." *

A similar type of retrogression is observable in the momentous changes that have taken place in the educational system. During the two generations preceding Mussolini, Italian schools had slowly but persistently begun to free themselves from the heavy hand of religious domination and were taking their place besides the schools of Germany and France. This was particularly true of the kindergarten and the early grades of the primary school. With the coming of fascism all this changed and it is one of the saddest and most devastating indictments of philosophical idealism that the man who did more than anyone else to destroy the old educational system and install the new fascist education was the renowned Hegelian philosopher Giovanni Gentile.

---

* La Uova Politca dell' Italia, p. 121. After these remarks he continues in his well-known self-adulatory strain, insisting that he and fascism were one and indissoluble, that, though sprung from the people, his was an aristocratic spirit and that his enemies were small business mediocrities, vipers, etc. In other words, he indulged in his customary billingsgate about his opponents:

"E giacche' l'occasione e' propizia, mi piace dire a voi, donne fasciste e ai fascisti di tutta Italia, che il tentative di separare Mussolini dal Fascismo o il Fascismo da Mussolini e' il tentative piu' inutile, piu' grottesco, piu' ridicolo che possa essere pensato.

"Io non sono cosi' orgoglioso da dire che colui che vi parla ed il Fascismo costituiscono una sola identita'. Ma quattro anni di storia hanno dimostrato ormai luminosamente che Mussolini ed il Fascismo sono due aspetti della stessa natura: sono due corpi ed un' anima o due anime ed un corpo solo.

"Io non posso abbandonare il Fascismo perche' l'ho creato, l'ho allevato, l'ho fortificato, l'ho castigato e lo tengo ancora nel mio pugno: sempre! Quindi e' perfettamente inutile che le vecchie civette della politica italiana mi facciano la loro corte gaglioffa: sono troppo intelligente perche' possa cadere in questo agguato di mediocri mercanti di fiere da villaggio."

All existing textbooks were scrapped by decree and in their place were substituted new ones, a single textbook for every elementary grade. Each such textbook had to be in accordance with the historical, political, juridical and economic requirements established since October 28, 1922 the date of the March on Rome. Since the March on Rome was itself a fiction it is not surprising to discover that the various textbooks themselves are a specious compound of irrationality and the cheapest and most puerile type of patriotism and jingoism, that religion is again injected into the school system and that this religious instruction is of the most narrow and sectarian kind.*

What the implications of this education are can best be gauged by a reference to page 162 of the second year book. There we see the picture of a little fascist holding a pen larger than himself and behind him is the enormous shadow of a fascist soldier holding a rifle, and in the halls, the text tells you, you can hear the balilla of the upper classes singing the opening lines of the fascist hymn glorifying youth. Certainly it must have been without the consent of the church that, immediately following this outrageous drawing, there are seventy-one pages of religious instruction, incidentally, one-third of the whole primer.

We cannot, of course, go into this subject in too great detail here. One more example must suffice. I select it, because it gives a complete picture of how early the theory of woman's primary function is instilled into the minds of children. In the second year textbook there is the story of a controversy between a boy and his sister which is thus settled by the grandfather:

---

* Those who wish to learn for themselves the depths to which the educational ideal has sunk in Italy are referred to the two following primers: Il libro della prima classe and Il libro della seconda classe, published by the Libreria dello Stato. For a convenient summary in English cf. the short article by C.H.Abad, Fascist Education in Italy, Current History, July, 1932, pp 433-437.

"And you, master general, must know that if the little girls did not love their dolls so dearly you would not have so many soldiers for war." "Ah," retorts the boy, "this is splendid, why?" "Because the soldiers are the sons of the little girls." *

3. Social Conditions and Labor Legislation: 1922-1934.

a. The Preliminaries to Fascism.

In the chaos that followed as an aftermath to the Great War, Italy although technically a victorious nation and one that had added to its territory, the long coveted Trentino and Trieste, suffered almost as badly as the defeated countries, like Germany and Hungary. But in Italy, there did not exist any organized party like the reformist socialists of Germany who could seize power and maintain it, after a fashion, in the face of opposition at home and the frenzied irrationality of the victorious allies. No change of government took place. The working class, insofar as it was organized, was controlled largely by the reformist socialists and the syndicalists. The communists were small in number. The reformist socialists were really mild laborites with very confused notions of the value of political action and the syndicalists definitely denied the value of political action. Their chief weapon was the general strike, and they believed that if the labor unions were sufficiently well organized, capitalism could be then overthrown and they could take control of industry and create a new social order. If to the anarchy which such an attitude encourages, we add the disorganization that inevitably follows the return of soldiers to their homes after an absence of more than three years, it is not difficult to understand the tremendous turmoil that ensued. From 1919 on, street-fights, murder and assassination were the order of the day.

---

* Abad, Ibid, p. 434. Mr.Abad also quotes from the same primer, the significant story of the wise man who was asked, "What is the highest virtue of the child?" "Obedience," "And the second?" "Obedience." "And the third," "Obedience."

Much has been written about the eventful years 1919-1922. Possibly the best and most authentic account is that of the liberal professor of history, Gaetano Salvemini. * He finds that the well-known device of drawing the famous communist red herring across the trail is as popular in Italy as in other lands. The so-called sanguinary tyranny of bolshevism of 1919 and 1920, to which fascists everywhere refer, resulted, he claims, in exactly sixty-five murders. Of these sixty-five attributed to "bolshevists," thirty-five came from the ranks of the police. ** Compare this with the fact that on one day, December 18, 1922, the fascists of Turin murdered twenty-one persons. The same bolshevist legend, Salvemini insists, was spread in regard to the land raids and the occupation of the factories. The first land raids occurred in August 1919 in the Province of Rome, and were the work of ex-service men "who marched with the Italian flag to the sound of patriotic music." *** Mussolini himself, as late as May 1920, gave these raids his full blessing:

> The peasants who rise today to solve the land question, must not meet with our hostility. They may perhaps commit excesses, but I beg you to remember that the War was fought by peasants.

With regard to the occupation of the factories, I shall let Professor Salvemini himself speak:

> The occupation of the factories was characterized by the same type of "bolshevism." The engineers, having threatened a strike for about a month, began on August 20 to practice ca'canny

---

* The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy, New York, 1927.

** Ibid, pp. 25-28

*** Ibid p. 28. Incidentally, those who seized the lands undertook to pay an annual rent to the owner. The amount of land "seized" was 246,000 acres, of which 172,000 were occupied after friendly agreements with the owners. The acreage of Italy is 74,000,000.

methods. On August 30, one of the firms declared a lockout. The men's leaders, fearing that all the employers would follow suit, ordered the occupation of the workshops. Half a million men were set in motion (August 31 - September 3), both government and employers being helpless to offer resistance.

During the weeks spent in negotiation with the industrialists, Mussolini supported the demands of the workers; he approved their obstructionism; and, when the occupation of the factories took place, he supported the Extremist Socialists against the Moderates.*

. . .Had the leaders of the General Confederation of Labor and of the Socialist Party wished to strike a decisive blow, here was the opportunity: they would have seized not the workshops but the government offices, the postal and telegraph services and the railways. The bankers, the industrialists and big landlords waited for the social revolution as sheep wait to be led to the slaughter. If a communist revolution could be brought about by bewilderment and cowardice on the part of the ruling class, the Italian people in September, 1920 could have made as many communist revolutions as they wished.

But the more prudent leaders of the General Confederation of Labor and of the Socialist Party fiercely opposed the proposal made by the extremists to extend the scope of the crisis and to give it definitely revolutionary aims. On September 11, . . . the Reformists defeated by 591,245 votes to 409,606 the revolutionary proposal of the Extremists. . .

As the days passed the men saw that without technical guidance, raw materials, the confidence of foreign markets, the occupation of the factories was useless. By shutting themselves up in the factories they had shut themselves up in a trap. The government had only to wait until the men were tired, and it did. On September 25, the men went home.

I am not trying to justify these ill-considered and culpable outbreaks. I wish to show only that the gravity of the so-called

---

* "Our attitude," said one of Mussolini's chief lieutenants, "from the first moment has been one of sympathy with the masses. . . .Today, we say the occupation is a formidable mistake, unless the organizers know how to use it as a stepping-stone for another and infinitely vaster scheme. Must it be used for a social upheaval? If so, it would be a proof of admirable political sense and would be logical. But the men's leaders have too terre-a-terre a mentality."

Bolshevist peril in Italy in 1919-1920 must not be exaggerated. *

The "authorized lawlessness" that followed and that continued until Mussolini's advent to power has been dignified by the fascists as civil war. Actually it represented a series of massacres and the looting and destruction of every organization connected with the workingmen and the peasants or associated with any shade of liberal opinion, from the communists to the liberals and the freemasons. Mussolini, with customary elasticity, sized up the situation quickly. First, as a leftist, he attacked the socialists, dubbing them ineffectual revolutionaries; and then, as a rightist, he called them revolutionaries of the most dangerous kind. Thus did he prepare himself for the role of official rhetorician and condottiere of the forces that were directing what Dr. Butler,* President of Columbia University, with his unequalled genius for disguising the truth, has called "a silent and bloodless revolution." How silent and how bloodless the fascist massacre-revolution was, Professor Salvemini--a rather mild liberal, as I have pointed out before--takes a whole book to describe. Only a person with a very strong stomach could possibly stand the pitiless recital of murder, pillage and rapine which Salvemini records in his pages. Such savagery is of course a well-known concomitant of fascism wherever

---

* Salvemini, Ibid, pp. 29-32. All this was merely preliminary. As soon as the fighting spirit of the workers and peasants began to wane, the counter-revolution began. Whereas, however, the bolshevist revolution was largely a figment of the imagination, the counter-revolution was a concentrated assize of terror. Its rallying point was the infamous Fasci di Combattimento. Their phraseology was revolutionary but they had for some time already been subsidized by the industrialists, landowners and shopkeepers, and these latter had now only "to generalize the method of subsidies and to enroll their own sons and followers in the Fascist band. Revolutionary phraseology was useful to incite the squads (squadristi) who had to fight the "Bolshevists" but the true function of the Fascists was really conservative." (Salvemini, Ibid, pp. 50-51.)

found. In the case of Italy specifically, Professor Salvomini explains it as due to the qualities and fears of the Italian industrial class. This is his summary:

> The Italian industrial class is of recent formation. It owes its wealth primarily to protective duties and governmental contracts, and has not yet acquired, by a long political and economic experience, a consciousness of its social dignity, rights and obligations. In particular the "new rich" of the war - "pescicani" or "sharks" we call them in Italy - are people of scant intellectual or moral refinement. Having achieved wealth and power more often by luck than by merit, they are incapable of holding their ground in a system of free competition and political liberty. These profiteers who form the bulk of the capitalist classes in Italy today, when their terror of "bolshevism" had turned to anger, were not content to lead the workers back to a more reasonable frame of mind. On the contrary they purposed to exploit their victory to the uttermost and to destroy the workers' organization. Even more savage than the industrialists were the landowners, accustomed by secular tradition to consider themselves absolute masters of their lands and to treat the peasants as beasts of burden with no civil rights and no sense of human dignity. They too were not content to defend their own liberty and property; what they wanted was revenge on the serfs who had dreamed of becoming masters. "We will put you to draw the plough with the oxen!" said the farmers of Cremona to their laborers, and they set off to enroll themselves among the Fascists.

b. The Fascist Terror

Here then we have the explanation for the savagery: the attempt of a newly-established industrial class to maintain its ill-gotten wealth and power and the attempt of an old feudal landowner class to continue the institution of serfdom. To the above must be added the desire of the high military authorities to insure the political power of the military caste. And the incarnate embodiment of all these attempts was Benito Mussolini. It is from these sources that he draws his strength and power and not from the possession of any occult faculties or superhuman genius. But the atrocities committed by the Fascists must be clearly visualized before their full implications can be understood. Thus we shall comprehend why foreign-born Italians now living in the United States and even

native-born Americans of Italian ancestry were and still are terrorized by that constant and never-ending "silent and bloodless revolution" which President Butler has extolled so eloquently. I shall therefore mention a few of these silent events taken from Salvemini. *

A. Florence, February 27, 1921. (The following reprisals took place in connection with the killing of a carabineer with which, admittedly, no workingmen were connected.)

> Shortly after these unforeseen episodes, the Fascists entered the scene, while armoured cars, Carabineers, Royal Guards and soldiers patrolled the streets and occupied the Headquarters of the local Trade-Unions Council ("Chamber of Workers") to prevent any gathering of the working masses. In the afternoon, a squad of Fascists appeared at the offices of the Communist Union of Disabled Soldiers, where the secretary of the Union, Spartaco Lavagnini, a Communist railwayman and a Borough Counsellor, was alone. Part of the squad posted themselves in the street, while four of their number entered the premises and shot Lavagnini dead. Thereupon they wrecked the premises without any interference on the part of the police, whose activity was limited to arresting "revolutionaries" en masse.
>
> As a protest against the murder of Lavagnini and against the authorities who were systematically leaving crimes of this sort unpunished, the railwaymen, that same evening, called a lightning strike in all the district round. The tramwaymen, newspaper printers, and the electricians followed suit. In the city and suburbs, numerous conflicts took place between Fascists and workers. During the night telephone and telegraph lines were cut.
>
> On Monday, February 28, the strike spread to all categories of workers. On their side, the Fascists issued proclamations inviting the population to rise against the red terror. The Prefect forbade all gatherings and processions as well as the circulation of motor-cars; but, in actual fact, the Fascists had a completely free hand to hunt the workmen, especially the railwaymen, through the streets.
>
> Their first offensive against the popular quarter of San Frediano, was unsuccessful. The workmen and the women had torn up the roadway and barricaded the streets to prevent the entrance of the

---

* Quoted from Salvemini, Ibid. pp. 60, 61, 63-65, 130-136, 124-128, 250, 253, 258, 295.

armed lorries. They fired and threw down tiles and furniture from the windows at those who tries to enter these narrow streets. In the afternoon, the Fascists returned, accompanied by a large patrol of Royal Guards, a battalion of infantry, numerous Carabineers and two armoured cars. Every outlet of the Quarter was blocked. The armoured cars forced an entry across the barricades into the streets, firing up at the windows and forcing the population to shut themselves up in the houses. As in each street the resistance was beaten down, the Fascists and police invaded the houses, venting their fury. Hundreds of men and women were wounded at haphazard. The official report speaks of three workmen killed and fifty wounded.

Here and there in other parts of the city numerous other isolated collisions took place.

"At the entrance to Via Lamarmera" - writes the pro-Fascist correspondent of the Corriere della Sera, March 1, 1921 - "a group of Fascists were hooted by some individuals who, when the Fascists turned round, took to their heels, running towards Piazza Cavour. It seemed to the Fascists that one of them had taken refuge in the shop of a certain Angelico Benini. They entered the shop and fired their revolvers, killing Benini. A man named Donatello Sanesi, who, frightened by the firing, was running under the colonnade of the square, was struck by a bullet and killed on the spot."

The strike lasted on into the following day, March 1. Police operations were transferred from the quarter of San Frediano to the other popular quarter, Santa Croce. In the afternoon, a squad of Fascists wrecked the premises of the Chamber of Workers, left at their mercy by the police, who had occupied them during the two preceding days. Another squad invaded and sacked the offices of the Engineers' Union. In the suburbs the police repressed, with the help of artillery, every sign of protest and revolt, while everywhere the Fascists continued their work of sacking and burning the premises of the workmen's organizations. By the afternoon comparative calm was restored in Florence.

During these days, according to the official report, 16 people were killed, 100 wounded. Among the dead were two Fascists and four members of the police services. The actual number of dead and wounded among the workers was probably much higher than was stated in the official report.

B. Florence, Stepmber 25, 1925.

In the afternoon of October 3, after four days of almost complete truce, a squad of Fascists under the leadership of Luperini, one of the three directors of the local Fascio, went to the house of the Freemason Bandinelli, who the previous day had been beaten by the Fascists. What happened at this point is not clear. The

Nazione of October 6 says prudently that "certain circumstances are still doubtful; reports on this point are perhaps not very precise. But if the usual Fascist methods of persuasion are borne in mind, it may easily be imagined that the discussion soon degenerated into blows. Another Freemason, named Becciolini, who was present, drew his revolver and fired on the Fascists, killing Luporini and wounding another. He was at once thrashed, flung into a motor car, taken to the premises of the Fascist Provincial Federation, brought back again half dead to the scene of the murder and there riddled with bullets. Bandinelli's house was sacked.

Two hours after this immediate "vendetta," reprisals on a large scale were set on foot against people entirely unconnected with the original incident. The Fascists cleared the streets in the center of the town, blindly bludgeoning everybody. The cafes were forcibly closed, the theatres invaded and the performances stopped. Soon after 10 p. m. the work of destruction began. The offices of thirteen lawyers and one accountant, a tailoring business, and seven shops were wrecked - nearly all in the center of the town, not far from the Prefecture, the police headquarters, and the barracks of the Carabineers. The furniture was thrown into the streets and set on fire. Watchers on the hills around Florence saw the columns of smoke and flame rising from the city. Many of the rioters indulged in indiscriminate looting. . . .

Another squad went to the villa of Signor Consolo, a lawyer, in Via Timoteo Bertelli. Consolo had been arrested in the preceding May on a charge of having helped to distribute the clandestine anti-Fascist paper, Non Mollare ("Never Yield") and acquitted after forty days' imprisonment. But if judges acquit, Fascists kill. During the evening Consolo's chambers had been wrecked and looted. He was at home with his wife and two children. Towards 11 o'clock somebody rang his street bell saying that there was an express letter to be delivered. Suspicious of their intentions, he refused to open the door and telephoned to the nearest police station for protection. The Fascists beat in his door. Leaving the telephone receiver on the table he hid in his children's room, between their two little beds. The telephone transmitted automatically to the police station every noise that was made and every word that was said. Signora Consolo implored the Fascists who were searching for her husband to have pity. The two children started out of their sleep weeping. One of the Fascists drove Signora Consolo into a corner while three others entered the children's room. They fired eight shots. Five hit the target, three lodged in the wall. When a lorry-load of police arrived from headquarters they found no one but the widow and children sobbing over the bleeding corpse. . .

In Florence the disorder reigned unchecked throughout the morning of Sunday, October 4, gradually calming down during the afternoon. Bands of Fascists and criminals - the "shady individuals" of the Nazione - coming in from the country or belonging to the dregs of the city, gave themselves up freely to looting. One of these bands started early in the morning from Pontassieve, and arrived at about 8 o'clock in Florence. There it was joined by a number of Florentine "heroes." Their first exploit was to sack the Underwood typewriter shop belonging to the brothers Breschi, Piazza Vittoria Emanuele, and the shop of the brothers Fini in the Via Corretani. About half past ten, in the Piazza del Duomo, they stormed a motor bus, turned out the passengers, and forced the conducter to drive them to Via Mattenaia. Here they sacked the house of the accountant Carrer.

Other bands sacked the shop of a tailor, Rossi, in Via Tornabuoni, and made a new attack on Dr. Pieraccini's house, but again failed to break down the door.

A lady in Florence wrote in a letter dated October 4, 1925, now before me:

"I went out to see the damage that had been done. You cannot imagine the scene. Window frames torn out, plate glass smashed, merchandise of all sorts ruined in half a score of shops. Baldesi's home was completely looted; happily the women had been warned and got away in time. One flat in Via della Mattenaia and another in Via dell'Ariente have been treated in the same way: the furniture thrown out of the windows - the crockery, even a piano and a bicycle - everything into the street and set on fire."

C. Turin, December 17, 1922.

"My husband was anti-Socialist but he was a kind-hearted man. He had served his king and country as a Carabineer for nine years. He had received mention and had been maimed in an affray with brigands. On the morning of December 19,1922, on reaching his room at the office, he asked a workman named Gallegari, a Fascist, where they had taken Barruti, the day before. Gallegari replied, "We have killed him." My husband deplored the killing of the father of a family, and added words such as any well-thinking man would have uttered. Gallegari without replying left the room. In less than an hour there arrived six "Black-Shirts" of the "Campiglio Squad"; they ranged themselves, two at the entrance, one with his revolver in front of the window in the courtyard, one at the telephone, while the remaining two broke into the room armed with pistols and bludgeons, shouting "Hands up!" Surprised at their work, my husband and his colleagues could not but obey. 'Which of you is Quintaglio who has deplored the killing of Berruti?' My husband and his colleagues, terrified, did not dare

to breathe. 'If you do not tell us which is Quintaglio, we shall fire at all six of you.' 'I am Quintaglio,' said my husband then. This was the end. Kicks, bludgeon blows, revolver shots brought him to the ground in a pool of blood, in the presence of the others. My husband, who was a strong and brave man, attempted to resist, but a last revolver shot made him helpless. He did not die at once. He was carried to the hospital where he died after four days of indescribable suffering, asking with anguish why Gallegari had so cruelly betrayed him."

D. Milan, February 28, 1924.

On February 28, 1924, about 8:30 p. m. while Piccinini was at home showing a picture book to his two little daughters, one nine and the other two years old, and explaining it to them, there was a knock at the entrance. A young man of about 19 came in; he was of decent appearance, but had his hat pulled over his eyes. He asked Piccinini on behalf of Signor Carboni to come out with him. Piccinini said that he had nothing to do with Carboni. The young man insisted with some heat, and finally ordered Piccinini to come. Piccinini's wife and little daughters grew alarmed and burst into tears. "May I at least know where you are taking me?" asked Piccinini, when he had put his coat on. "Come along, come along, no scenes," replied the unknown man, seizing his arms and dragging him out. In the broad avenue leading toward Reggio Ciano Station there were some revolver shots, a last cry for pity, and then silence. The corpse was not discovered till 4 a. m. next morning. The post-mortem showed that three of the four shots fired had struck the victim.

E. Mantua, September 23, 1926.

While the schoolmaster, Anselmo Cessi (aged 50), president of the Mantuan branch of the "Nicolo Tomaseo," was walking along a lonely road at Castelgoffredo, accompanied by his wife and children, three unknown persons, evidently lying in wait for him, attacked him violently with cudgels. His wife began to call for help, protesting against the aggressors. The latter, producing their revolvers, emptied them at close range into the unfortunate schoolmaster, who was instantly killed.

F. Spezia, January 21, 1923.

In the night, January 21, 1923, a Fascist named Lubrano was killed in Spezia by some brother Fascists whom the Carabineers identified and arrested a few hours after the crime. In Spezia, as in Turin, this incident became a pretext for violence on a large scale designed to terrorize the town. On the afternoon following the crime a squad of Fascists "requisitioned" two

workmen, Povelotteni and Battono, from their homes in broad daylight and dragged them to the Fascist headquarters. There the two men were savagely beaten because they could not disclose the names of the "Communists" by whom, it was alleged, Lubrano had been killed. Another workman, Pasini, was "requisitioned" from his home, beaten to death and his body left in the streets. Another, Bellandi, was killed and his body thrown into the river. A secondary school teacher, Del Santo, was set upon as he left the school, ferociously beaten with fists, sticks and revolver butts and left for dead on the road; his life being saved by a miracle. A peasant of 70, Bacigalupi, was attacked in his shed in the fields: the Fascists first killed his horse, then set fire to the shed, and finally shot him with their revolvers. Another workman, a consumptive, named Zilieli, was torn from his bed, placed against a wall in the street and shot. The outrages went on for five days without the police taking any steps to check them. Fourteen persons were thus massacred and over a hundred more or less seriously injured. Not until the evening of March 26 did the Consul of the "Fascio" of Spezia issue an order to cease reprisals.

G. Rome, June 10, 1925, the murder of Matteotti.

Giacomo Matteotti was abducted in a motor-car and murdered on the afternoon of June 10.

"It was half past four" - stated a boy of twelve, who was an eye-witness - "I was playing with my companions. Near us there was a motor-car, which had stopped just by Via Antonio Scialoja. Five people got out of it and began to walk up and down. Suddenly I saw Signor Matteotti come out. One of the men went toward him, and when near him gave him a violent push, making him fall on the ground. Signor Matteotti called out. Then the other four came up; and one of them struck him a hard blow in the face. Then they took him by his head and feet, and carried him into the car, which came past us. So we were able to see that Signor Matteotti was struggling. Afterwards we saw nothing more." . . .

Amerigo Dumini, on the night after the murder, confided to Filippo Filipelli, that the categoric order to put Matteotti out of the way emanated from Mussolini himself:

"Towards midnight (on June 10)" - says Filipelli - "Dumini came into my room with a bundle of newspapers and asked me to find a place for the car during the night. Filled with suspicion, I asked him to explain. He answered that he had acted according to precise orders from Rossi and Marinelli, formally authorized by Mussolini. He asked me not to say a word, and assured me that everything would be settled on the following day. Dumini

showed me a letter from a Genoese Socialist to Signor Matteotti, and the latter's passport, which had been removed from the corpse, saying that on the following day he would send them in to Mussolini. . . .

Dumini, who during his first month in prison had obstinately denied all participation in the crime, had an impulse of revolt, when confronted on July 23 with the deposition wherein De Bono attributed to him the confession of having driven the car. From his cell, he sent a letter to Aldo Finzi, July 24, 1924, which recalled his journeys to France:

"The original records of my journey are in Italy; and in the interests of my defence I will produce them if need by, together with others concerning the present case. I see that I have been abandoned by everyone, and especially by those for whom I have sacrificed everything. Therefore I shall defend myself, and if necessary, I shall accuse others. . . .In face of De Bono's attitude, and in face also of my manifest abandonment by everyone, I am obliged to look seriously to my defence, making use of documents and of my memory, which is good. I have not yet compromised anyone - neither the Viminale (De Bono's office) nor the Palazzo Chigi (Mussolini's office). I am not disposed to let myself be sacrificed in this way. . .You had better tell the Prime Minister so. It would be a good thing if I could get the permission of Signor Oviglio (Minister of Justice) to speak to you. What I propose to tell you will have such importance for you and for the government that many troubles and grave developments during the hearing of the trial will be avoided. This letter is not the outcome of my irritation nor an attempt at blackmail; nor is it a sympton of weakness or demoralization. It is the result of my calm and deliberate intention to sell my liberty as dearly as possible at all costs and in defiance of everybody and everything."

Cesare Rossi, on the morning of June 11, confided to Filipelli that the order had been given by Mussolini:

"On Wednesday morning" - Filipelli says - "Rossi told me that Signor Mussolini knew everything: that Marinelli and he (Rossi) had given the orders in agreement with Mussolini; and that the thing must be hushed up at all costs, otherwise Mussolini himself would be done for. Towards 1 p. m. on the same day Rossi assured me that before the day was out a line of action would be found to achieve this result. He told me that Mussolini had been informed of what had happened, and had also received the passport and the letter."

The amnesty of July 31, 1925, was proclaimed with the intention of saving these responsible, if not for the premeditated murder,

at least for the abduction, of a deputy who was troublesome to the government.

Mussolini, addressing the Chamber of January 3, 1925, declared:

"Before this Assembly, and before the people of Italy, I declare that I alone assume the moral, political, and historical responsibility for all that has occurred." . . .

A more explicit utterance is to be found in the January 1926 number of Gerarchia, a review founded by Mussolini and now edited by his Egeria, Margherita Sarfatti:

"The abduction of Matteotti and its consequences belong morally, politically and historically to Fascism. It is useless and foolish to seek the guilty and the innocent at the moment of committing a specific act. This and this only is revolutionary language and this was the language of the 'Duce' in the Chamber on January 3, 1925." . . .

Were Mussolini opposed to violence, he would not have granted three amnesties to his partisans. His own speeches, when, under the influence of his natural impetuosity, he forgets caution, reveal him as obsessed with ideas of violence and murder. Cesare Rossi, the head of Mussolini's Press Bureau, affirmed in a memorandum of June 22, 1924, that all the most scandalous outrages had been committed under personal orders from Mussolini:

"All that has occurred was done by Mussolini's orders or with his concurrence. I mean the bludgeoning of Amendola, for which Mussolini gave orders to De Bono without my knowledge and which was carried out by Candelori; the bludgeoning of Misuri, which was organized by Balbo, at Mussolini's instigation; the attack on Forni, for which Mussolini gave me orders in a state of excitement, and which I organized together with Giunta; the attack on Nitti's house, and the recent demonstration against the opposition groups, for which Mussolini gave orders to Foschi. It was Mussolini who proposed to the Quadrumvirate (the Central Committee of the Fascist Party) that the Fascist deputy Ravazzoli should receive the lesson his lack of discipline deserved. It was he who gave orders to Signor Maggi, the Fascist deputy, to destroy the Christian-Democratic clubs in the Brianza, and afterwards repeated the orders to me with complacency. I must add that Commendatore Fasciolo received daily from Mussolini the names of subscribers to the Voce Republicana, the Avanti, the Giustizia, the Italia Libera, the Unita, and other anti-Fascist papers; Fasciolo was to forward these to the local branches of the Fascist Party, so that the persons indicated might be bludgeoned, and forcibly dosed with castor-oil."

H. Finally let me quote the magnificent protest of the head of the Italian Masons against the fascist terror:

Rome, September 18, 1924

To His Excellency the Premier of Italy (Mussolini):

Permit me to address myself to you in my capacity of representative of the many Italians belonging to the Masonic Order. As you know, there is not a single one among them who does not practice and admit as his fundamental duty his unconditional devotion to the Fatherland.

In the beginning of this year, I addressed a letter to His Excellency the Minister of Justice, in connection with the same matter with which I now appeal to you. In fact, I wrote him on January 31 to the following effect:

"For many months past the Italian Lodges, of which I have the honor to be the Master, have been subjected to frequent acts of violence. It is new in our land for such things to happen, for everyone knows the distinguished merits, national and civil, of the Masonic Order, and the loyal and heroic deeds accomplished by them for the reconstruction of the country during the last century." In that letter I informed the Minister of the very serious outrages we have suffered recently in Turin, at Senseverino, in the province of Foggia, at Monteleone in Calabria, at Termoli in the province of Campobasso, at Lucca and Pistoja, and I asked that he take measures "for the immediate prosecution of those responsible for these outrages, so as to prevent the recurrence of these crimes."

His Excellency, Signor Oviglio, responded courteously on February 3, 1924, and wrote as follows: "I have received your letter of January 31, and I immediately referred it to the proper authorities and requested full information concerning the crimes," etc.

Grateful as I am for his courteous reply, I am yet compelled today to address my protest to you personally as the Head of the Government, for there has been a renewal of these outrages and an increase in the number of these crimes. . . .

In no case have the legal owners ever regained any portion of their stolen properties, not even in the one case where I myself pointed out to the officers the exact places where the stolen property was hidden. Our repeated complaints produced no results whatsoever. The public authorities who were asked to intervene were baulked by some unknown power, secret in nature.

During the last few days I have received and I still continue to receive, from different districts, additional news of the burning and the ransacking of our property. Milan, Bologna, Venice, Arezzo, Livorno, Perugia, Poligno, Spoleto, Forli', Bari, Taranto, Montepulciano, Andria, Narni have been the scene of happenings disgusting and unworthy of the great Italian civilization, scenes reminiscent of by-gone times and proper only to an uncivilized people. Permit me, your Excellency, to mention particular places and persons, which I presume you know directly. Have you ever doubted for a moment that the Masons of Forli' were good Italians? Do you not, as an Italian, regret with me the ravages wrought in the lodges of the Bolognese region, where the wisdom and the faith of your own Romagnole fatherland spoke through the mouth of Aurelio Sarfi; where Giosue' Carducci put down the minutes of each meeting; those previous minutes which, as I write, are being destroyed by fire?

But quite apart from this, I ask your Excellency to consider and inquire whether this series of outrages, committed with a visible unity of method, does not prove that it is a well-planned conspiracy.

We know very well the different people who were inflamed against us during the last two years. . . . It is enough to say that they are dangerous. We ourselves have witnessed certain heroic fascist deputies marching to attack Palazzo Giustiniani, the central office of the Italian Masons in Rome, at the head of the Black Shirts. On this occasion I would like to remind your Excellency only of that which you can control personally, at least in part. I would also like to recall to your mind our propaganda to enlighten the nation on the necessity of entering the Great War, a propaganda which resulted in such outstanding victories. You know very well what deep need the nation had for our cooperation. If you recollect, the other faction, in the beginning, was trying to induce the Italian people to side with the Austrian Empire, and by our actions we stopped this. I must also remind you of our achievements during the terrible crisis when others were advising a separate peace, of the public praise that His Majesty, the King, gave us before all Italy, of the equally public praise that your predecessor gave us, he who led Italy from Caporetto to Vittorio Veneto, from defeat to victory.

Your Excellency, let me also recall Fiume, that we were the very first to start the propaganda (for its incorporation in Italy), that it was our voice which first raised this cry when no one in Italy was thinking about it.

Surely you cannot ignore our action to defend the State, when in the beginning of the Italian crisis after the war, alarming ideas

of class dictatorship arose, recognized as symptoms of disintegration; how we rose to the defense of that conception of the State which regards it as the supreme political and ethical power in which are to be found liberty and democracy and where all citizens are free and equal.

It is noised about that we are the object of strong aversions because we are bound by international links, that we prefer foreign interests to Italian. That is a damnable and false accusation. If the Government suspects that such a charge is true, it should at least give us the possibility of offering explanations and proofs, something that I publicly state I am ready and willing to do now; so we may have the opportunity of demonstrating some of the high merits of the Italian Masons.

But if it is our crime to remain faithful custodians, in the field of thought, of the great ideals which inspired the formation of the State; the ideals of Liberty, of popular sovereignty, as a fundamental part of political life, freedom against interference from the ecclesiastical authorities, of preaching Justice for everyone, if it is our crime to believe that a movement of national reorganization cannot be a reaction against the spirit of the Risorgimento, if that is our crime, then instead of denying it I solemnly reaffirm these ideals for my brothers and for myself and rededicate them and myself to this service!

But all this naturally will not stop your Excellency from being ever alert to see that the laws are enforced for our protection.*

After the enumeration of these choice bits from the Fascist Libro d'Oro we need only ask in the manner of Mussolini: A chi la gloria? A chi la battaglia? And the answer we can glean from the pages of Salvemini: "A noi! To us belongs the glory, to us the victory, we the industrialists of Italy, the landowners of Italy, the military caste of Italy!" Nor should we be surprised to find that Mussolini himself openly glorified violence: "Violence is moral, provided it is timely and surgical and chivalrous; but since the revolutionary party holds the power, violence must

---

* Sotto il Segno del Littorio by D. Saudino, Chicago, 1933, pp. 336-338.

confine itself to creating and maintaining a sympathetic atmosphere toward the use of this governmental violence. Private and individual ungoverned violence is anti-fascist. . . .The Italian people understand the use of governmental violence in certain contingencies through the regular armed forces, but not supplemental individual violence."*

c. Laborer and Peasant under Fascism.

Such being the atmosphere, such the masters and such the condottiere who led them, it is not strange to discover that labor lost all its rights and that laborers were reduced to the position of semi-serfs. It is this lowering of the laborer from the state of a free agent to a bludgeoned and unwilling occupant of labor camps that constitutes fascist Italy's famous solution of the labor problem. Yet apart from this degradation of masses of individuals, its success has been just as illusory as were the so-called battles for the increase in population and the "Battle of the Grain."

According to Mussolini the root of all the difficulties of modern life lies in the open warfare between capital and labor. When he was a socialist he, of course, vehemently preached the doctrine of the class struggle, and even when he became the figurehead of the heterogeneous forces that transformed the ineffectual fascist movement of 1919-20 to the effective and violent movement that seized power in 1922, he cleverly retained many of the formulae and not a little of the symbolism of his former associates.

---

* Quoted from Salvemini, pp. 215-216.

Clarity and consistency had never been his strong points, but now, under the double necessity of having, on the one hand, to placate a rank and file fascist movement which included people of the most diverse social origins and mentality, and, on the other hand, of obeying the orders of an equally motley group of masters--the industrialists (both the pre-war employers and the new war profiteers), the landowners, and the intellectual middle classes--he became neurotically confused. He can hardly be blamed for it, since among the fascists were to be found, for instance, employers of labor, former syndicalists, army officers with strong monarchical feelings, republicans, landowners, half-starved members of the intellectual proletariat, truant boys of good families and finally out-and-out criminals. At the same time, the official and unofficial content and purpose of fascism was undergoing momentous changes from week to week. Putting a very generous construction on the activities of the youthful fascists during the period 1919-1920, we can perhaps say that they thought they were serving the best interests of the country by their violent and incendiary attacks on all things liberal and radical. But by 1921 fascism had changed completely. It had now become a definitely anti-Trade-Unionist movement palpably in the interests of the profiteers, and it became in 1922, finally, a far-reaching anti-parliamentary uprising.

No more rhetorician could have coped with this situation. But of course Mussolini is much more than that. The task by which he was confronted was almost ideally cut out for him. It was, in brief, to so completely befuddle the ideas of both followers and opponents that they did not know what were his real aims nor for whom he was speaking. One of

his oft-quoted sayings, it is said, was to the effect that the greater the confusion, the better. What happened in 1922 is the best proof of this as well as of his "mob-sense." Under a cloud of revolutionary words he allowed the military caste to put over its coup. After the confusion and violence had been stabilized, however, it was necessary to prove to the Italians that there was really no confusion and that violence was the will of the people as expressed in the so-called Totalitarian State. It was first necessary to "solve" the labor problem, and this was done by denying not only the principle of class war but also by denying the existence of any real conflict of interests between employers and employed. Naturally, remembering the interests of those for whom Mussolini spoke, this could only mean one thing: delivery of the working class and the peasants completely over to the tender mercies of the profiteer industrialists and the landowners. This was done under the guise of granting them a Charter of Labor. The fascist senator Schanzer quite frankly admits that this charter respects private initiative, but he hastens to add that it excludes all forms of socialism including State socialism.* However, the best way to understand its full implications and its clever manipulation of slogans that had been deprived of all their rational content, is to quote its main provisions:

> The Fascist conception of the relations between capital and labor finds its expression in a document of high historical value, the Charter of Labor, which was approved by the Fascist Grand Council in April, 1927, and in a series of legislative enactments, which elaborate and apply the principles laid down in the Charter

---

* Carlo Schanzer, Italy's Solution of the Labor Problem, Current History, October 1930, pp. 37-41.

of Labor. The charter is really a vast social and political program, a declaration of the duties and rights of labor, inspired by the interests of the nation, as may be seen in some of the more important paragraphs of the first chapter, entitled: "Of the Corporative State and its Organization":

"1. The Italian Nation is an organism which has ends, life and means of action superior in strength and durability to those of individuals, either divided or united in groups, which compose it. It is a moral, political and economic entity, which finds its complete expression in the Fascist State.

"2. Work, in all its managerial, executive, intellectual, technical and manual forms, is a social duty. For this reason, and for this reason alone, is it protected by the State. Production, considered as a whole, is unitary from a national point of view; its objectives may be summed up in the well-being of the individual and the development of the power of the nation.

"3. Full freedom of syndical and professional organization exists; but only legally recognized syndicates (unions) which are subject to the supervision of the State, have the right legally to represent the categories of employers and of workers for which they are constituted. . . .

"7. The Corporative State considers private initiative in the field of production as the most efficacious and most useful instrument in the interests of the nation. As private organization of production is a function of national interest, the organizers of any enterprise are responsible, in the eyes of the State, for the development of production. From the cooperation of productive forces it follows that a reciprocity of rights and duties exists between them. The helpers, technicians, employes and workers are active collaborators in any economic enterprise, the management of which belongs to the employer, who is responsible for it.

"8. The State intervenes in economic production only when private initiative is lacking or insufficient, or when the political interests of the State are involved. Such intervention may take the form of supervision, encouragement, or direct management."

In spite of the high-sounding pretensions of this Charter of Labor, the abyss between capital and labor, of which Signor Schanzer speaks, instead of being bridged has been deepened, and workingmen, deprived of those organizations which they had so laboriously and efficiently

built up during the nineteenth century, were practically reduced to the position of semi-serfs.

This, added to the insecurity of the whole social-economic set-up of the Italy of today, which is being reduced to virtual chaos by Mussolini's preparations for war against Ethiopia has made the condition of the workingman worse than it has been since the fatal days of the break-up of the Roman Empire.

How acute is the distress is vividly pictured by a letter published a few days ago in Stampa Libera of New York:

> I have heard that you wish to return to Italy and I am therefore hastening to write to you so that you may weigh well the step you are about to take. In our unhappy country most of us seem to have become neurotics. It is difficult to say whether this is due to the terror that the war brought about or to our subsequent hardships and the complete lack of the most elementary foods. Illnesses of all kinds have increased and the poor physicians, worked to death, write prescriptions for individuals who do not possess a single centesimo. And these prescriptions are no longer of any value in the drug-store, for the druggists refuse to fill them unless the medicines are paid for in advance. Immediate payment--but there are no soldi with which to pay and no one working gets more than four or five lire a day.
>
> During the last days of June when the grain mowing starts there is, of course, an increased demand for labor, and this year as usual the contadini from outside our district came looking for work. But they could get none, The mayor demands that the laborers possess working-cards, which cost eight lire per person, and the tally of the agricultural syndicate, which costs ten lire. The contadini didn't have it, and in consequence returned home. Their reasoning was quite logical. There are only four working days, and in all they would make twenty lire. Of this the fascists would take eighteen and they would thus have two left. How were they going to feed their children on that? So they returned to their homes; to find that the grain had already partly scattered, because in their absence it had ripened and there was not enough labor on hand to gather the grain in.
>
> Before returning to their homes they organized a monster demonstration against fascism, the government and the mayor.

> Fortunately we had a commander of carabineers who was an anti-fascist and who had meted out a deserved punishment to a municipal guard who had assaulted a peasant. ..

The plight of the peasants since the advent of fascism was no better than that of the workingmen. Mussolini sought to divert attention from their rapidly-increasing militancy by grandiloquent and well-propagandized schemes for improving roads, erecting public buildings, planning new schools, etc. But the real difficulty lay in the problem of liquidating the obligations accruing from the importation of grain to Italy. It had, of course, been markedly sharpened by the passage of the United States Immigration Law, which went into effect in July 1924, restricting the number of emigrants from Italy to the United States to a quota of approximately 5000 individuals.

In 1925 the problem had assumed catastrophic proportions. Something had to be done. At least some gesture had to be made. In the fashion Mussolini had made so popular, the problem was attacked by taking refuge in a slogan and a formula. That slogan was epitomized in what the fascists called The Battle of the Grain (La Battaglia degli Grani).

The domestic production of grain might be increased if the large land-owning nobles, particularly in southern Italy, could be made to cultivate their lands intensively. Hundreds of thousands of acres of productive land were lying idle. The center of the campaign was the idea that if the peasants living on the estates of the large landowners could obtain in their own name as much as possible of the landlord's holdings, they would cultivate that land intensively.

They were encouraged to go abroad by whatever means possible.

Locally, officers were instructed to cooperate with them in obtaining necessary documents and papers in order to facilitate their emigration. Abroad they would obtain jobs and send money home in payment for their land, while their families tilled the soil. Thus the demand for entry to the United States again increased.

It is impossible to estimate the number who managed to enter the United States by devious methods, undoubtedly thousands monthly; other thousands went to South America and Mexico. Incidentally, Italians born in territory contiguous to the United States were free of quota restrictions; consequently, necessary documents could often be obtained fraudulently in South American countries.

The Italian government tried everything in its power to persuade the United States authorities to relax somewhat the stringent application of the immigration laws. All to no avail, of course. So strong, however, was the pressure of the peasants to flee the new fascist regime that Mussolini at times found himself in difficult straits. It is probably because of this that the impression was at times created that his government was conniving at highly unorthodox subterfuges for bringing Italians to the American shores.

Owing to the the bearing of the official Italian attitude on the solution of the agricultural crisis of Italy and on the types of immigrants who were encouraged to come here after 1924, I should like to give *in extenso* some notes jotted down for me by one who has been American vice-consul at Messina and Genoa:

The Immigration Law of July 1924 specified that half of the quota of 5000 Italians should be reserved for those qualified as "preferred immigrants." These were designated in the law as the alien parents of American citizens and skilled agriculturists. The extra quota category included all Italians who had previously entered the United Stated legally and returned to Italy or any other foreign land for a visit of not more than two years--provided they had established themselves in the United States before leaving and left with the intention of returning.

When this law went into effect, although the fascist regime was well entrenched in 1924, conditions were not very stable. Prices were rising, exchange was falling, unemployment and taxation were increasing. The trade balance difficulties, the social unrest held in check by force, and the checked flow of surplus labor to the United States added to the country's embarrassment.

As immigrants invariably send remittances back to Italy, the new immigration law accentuated the country's economic and social problem, and the Italian government therefore tried every possible method to facilitate the emigration of the unemployed members of the working class to the United States, the unemployed themselves willingly cooperating.

The attitude of the Italian government was, naturally enough, that the emigrants should be selected from the more ostablished families in Italy, as those classes could be depended upon to remit their surplus earnings. Thus, with the government's attitude coinciding in large measure with that of the impoverished working classes, the pressure upon the American consular officers who issued the American visas was terrific.

With the quota divided equally into preference and non-preference classes, everyone knew that an ordinary immigration visa could be issued only to 2500 individuals and that the remaining 2500 preference visas could, under the American law, go only to the parents of naturalized American citizens and skilled agriculturists. From the Italian government's point of view, however, these were the very classes which should be kept at home. They needed to step up the domestic agricultural production; and the parents received remittances, a great help in the balance of trade.

It must be remembered that a passport issued by the Italian government was necessary before a prospective emigrant could apply for a visa. Thus the Italian government, in the hope of using the entire quota for the type of emigrant which it desired should leave Italy, withheld passports from the preference classes and issued them to the others. As the American consular offices could not issue more than 50% of the quota as ordinary visas, and not more than 10% of the total per month in each class, almost half of the total quota was lost during the first six months of the law's operation.

Finally, realizing this, the Italian government abandoned all attempts to control the type of emigrant admissible to the quota and concentrated on attempting to facilitate the emigration of those people who had a possible claim to non-quota status. Non-quota passports were issued to any one who applied for them; visitors' passports were especially abundant. Visitors' visas were naturally free of all quota restrictions--the consular officer having satisfied himself as to the character of the visit.

Difficulties now arose in connection with the non-quota emigrants' visas. Documents proving residence in the United States were falsified, claims to American citizenship cleverly and falsely compiled; old American passports were made over and changed with the seals counterfeited; re-entry permits were cleverly obtained from the United States. Extraordinarily large crew lists were found on practically all ships; the surplus crew paid for the privilege of signing on the ship and deserted the ship in the United States. In 1926 and 1927 any document which could effect entry into the United States from Italy was worth $2000 or more.

A highly interesting situation developed in connection with the Eucharistic Congress held at Chicago in 1926. American consular offices were instructed to grant visas to all bona-fide delegates to this Congress. These visas were to be free of all quota restrictions and classes as visitor's visa. The American Embassy at Rome arranged with the Vatican that every delegate should be provided with an identification card carrying the delegate's photograph and the Papal seal. The Embassy in turn notified the consular offices that such an identification would be considered sufficient. It did not occur to any one to doubt that the plan would be all right. But it actually worked out in the following manner: the local village priests merely sent in the names and photographs of those people in their congregations who wanted to go to America for any reason whatsoever, and the identification cards, properly made out, were then returned to them. As a consequence, the first morning after these identification cards had been received throughout the countryside, at least 2,000 individuals presented themselves at the American Consulate at Messina for visitor's visa. I was able to grant 5 visas out of the total crowd. They were practically all illiterate peasants who had not the slightest idea that they were accredited delegates to the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago. As a matter of fact they didn't know what it meant or anything about it; they merely knew that they had passports to America. In spite of the fact that they were properly accredited by the Vatican, it would have been useless for me to issue them visas as they would have inevitably been turned down at Ellis Island. The natural result of this incident was that local officials and steamship agents and other people who benefit in money from emigrants were deprived of their commissions and

petty graft. They protested violently to the church and the church carried the protest through the Vatican to the Italian foreign office.

The majority of the emigrants came from the upper middle classes, unskilled laboring class, and the peasantry. It must always be remembered that though the Immigration Law was American, the Italian government controlled the types of individuals who were allowed to go, because they alone could give them permission to leave Italy.

Naturally the Battle of the Grain ended in ignominious failure. If in 1934 the importation of foreign wheat had declined measurably over that for 1922 the reason was simple enough. There was no money and no credit with which the wheat could be purchased.

The full extent of the impoverishment of the land and the catastrophe that was overwhelming the thrifty peasants can best be seen by the table which follows:

ACREAGE AND PRODUCTION OF WHEAT 1922-1934

Year	Acreage	Production in Quintals*
1922**	11,403,665	87,400,000
1923	11,689,500	61,191,000
1924	11,415,750	46,306,000
1925	11,767,539	65,548,000
1926	12,145,000	60,050,000
1927	12,295,033	53,291,000
1928	12,262,911	62,214,600

* A quintal is about 210 pounds.
** This is for October 30, 1922. When Mussolini came into power the crop had already been gathered.

Acreage and Production of Wheat 1922-1934

(Continued)

Year	Acreage	Production in Quintals
1929	11,804,643	70,972,000
1930	11,904,708	57,376,000
1931	12,075,378	66,620,000
1932	12,236,887	75,151,000
1933	12,568,102	81,003,000
1934	12,236,392	63,328,000*

Let us contrast this decrease in production with the phenomenal size of the expenditures of the Fascist government in 1934 and the equally amazing increase in the budget for the various police agencies between 1914 and 1930.

THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT BUDGET FOR 1933-1934

REGULAR EXPENSES

To the Royal Crown.	Lira	17,600,000**
Mussolini's office.	"	938,000
Extra Expenses of Mussolini	"	4,302,000
Special Expenses of Mussolini	"	12,898,200

---

* The data in this table are from the Statesman's Year Book, 1935.
** Count eleven lire to the dollar. The royal family received an increase of 300,000 lire over the preceding year.

The Italian Government Budget for 1933-1934

Regular Expenses

(Continued)

Foreign Mission and Propaganda.	Lira	139,502,000
Italian Schools in Foreign Lands.	"	31,920,000
Fascist Courts and Justice.	"	22,995,000
Penitentiaries and Jails.	"	185,560,000
(OURA or Secret Force).	"	314,419,000
Regular Police or Carabinieri	"	379,900,000
Customs Guard	"	225,125,000
Black Shirt Militia	"	64,600,000
Waterfront Fascist Militia.	"	7,837,000
Fascist Forest Militia.	"	84,795,000

EXTRA EXPENDITURES

Special Services Reserved to Mussolini. . . .	Lire	80,000
Customs Guard	"	3,900,000
Foreign Mission and Propaganda.	"	15,499,000
Fascist Forest Militia.	"	6,860,000
Italian Schools in Foreign Lands.	"	1,050,000
	Lire	1,488,781,000

EXPENDITURES FOR THE POLICE FORCES

1913-1914	Lire 130,000,000
1914-1915	" 132,000,000
1915-1916	" 125,000,000
1916-1917	" 112,000,000
1917-1918	" 129,000,000
1918-1919	" 209,000,000
1919-1920	" 407,000,000
1920-1921	" 802,000,000
1921-1922	" 839,000,000
1922-1923	" 965,000,000
1923-1924	" 725,000,000
1924-1925	" 757,000,000
1925-1926	" 935,000,000
1926-1927	" 1,051,000,000
1927-1928	" 1,031,000,000
1928-1929	" 1,009,000,000
1929-1930	" 1,073,000,000

1

Comment, I believe, is not necessary. It is perfectly clear that Mussolini and the groups for whom he is the spokesman have taken to heart the recent utterance of the well-known political scientist Harold D. Lasswell*: that society is divided into two groups, the elite, and the rank and file.

---

* Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago; at present Visiting Professor at the University of California, in the department of which Major-General David Prescott Barrows is Chairman.

The elite, Lasswell continues, constitutes the few members of any community who, at a given time, have the most of each value. The elite preserves its ascendency "by manipulating symbols, controlling supplies and applying violence."*

In the previous discussion we have been compelled to stress the last twenty-five years of Italian history at the expense of the earlier part not only because of the immediacy of the issues involved but because so many Italians came to San Francisco during that period and they have colored the political and social atmosphere of the Italian colony. The divisions of Italians into pro-fascist and anti-fascist groups has definitely retarded that process of Americanization which was making such tremendous strides before the war. It is of course a mere figure of speech to speak of Mussolini's American Empire, as Mr. Marcus Duffield did in the article before referred to, but it is not a laughing matter to these Italian-American citizens, foreign-born and native-born, in the face of Mussolini's avowed and officially-announced campaign to prevent their Americanization, and who are persecuted by fascist agents by means of boycotts and intimidation.

According to Mr. Duffield, when Italian-Americans visit Italy, they are frequently detained against their will and forced to serve training periods in the army. "Mussolini," he contends, "has presumably two objectives in this curious sub-surface invasion of sovereignty, both

---

* World Politics and Personal Insecurity, by H. D. Lasswell, New York, 1933, p. 3. He adds: "Less formally expressed, politics is the study of who gets what, when and how."

arising from military motives. Looking forward to the next war (Duffield's article appeared in 1929) he is trying to keep Americans of Italian extraction thoroughly Italianized and loyal to him so they will respond to his call to arms. He sees no reason why perhaps a half-million potential soldiers of Fascism should slip from his grasp by becoming Americanized. Second, Il Duce wants to stifle all criticism in the United States, for he realizes that only if Fascism is favorably regarded here can he get American loans."*

If Duffield's statements are correct--our government took very serious notice of them--a distinct menace is concealed here. At the present moment, for instance, with Italy on the verge of war with Ethiopia and the United States Senate definitely banning loans and credits to both Italy and Ethiopia should they declare hostilities, what are we to do with those Italians living on our shores, who enlist or who engage in minor clashes like the one that recently occurred in New Jersey?

The Italian fascist program has had a few unpleasant repercussions in San Francisco itself. Let me give three instances:

In attempting to obtain a copy of the Avvertenze, a public document which accompanied Italian passports in 1926 and 1927 and of which hundreds of thousands were issued, considerable difficulty was experienced because of the possible displeasure of the fascist government. The gentleman who finally gave me a copy was an American-born Italian and yet he too begged me not to mention his name.

---

* Harper's Magazine, November 1929, p. 661.

My second instance relates to the impossibility of obtaining copies of the philosophical works of the great Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce in San Francisco's Italian bookshops because the Italian government disapproves of Croce's independent stand toward fascism.

Lastly, I should like to refer to the attack made on a well-known Italian-American anti-fascist near San Mateo, recently, by two young Italian fascists. The case was brought to court but was dismissed by the judge, who happened to have so-called Anglo-Saxon antecedents, apparently on the principle that an unprovoked assault made by an Italian fascist on another Italian in a gathering composed entirely of Italians, was necessarily in the nature of a brawl. The defendants publicly admitted that they had attacked the anti-fascist lecturer and one of them quite truculently proclaimed that he would defend any criticism of the Duce in the same way, if the occasion arose again.

These are of course only small happenings, but they are all the more significant because they are so "trivial." They leave us with an uncomfortable certainty as to what fascist propaganda might lead its American followers to do in matters that are not trivial.

For those of us to whom Italy and Italian culture have always been and still are a source of unquenchable inspiration and never-ending delight, it is a most painful and distressing task to have to record the blight which has fallen upon the land of Dante.

It is not a pleasant thing for anyone who has ever trudged along that glorious path which leads from Fiesole and passes San Domenico, to

realize that Florence and the valley of the Arno, suddenly coming into view as you make the turn in the road, have been the scene of a St. Bartholomew's terror such as that described by Salvemini. Nor is it a refreshing thought to know that the twisting highway between Sorrento and Amalfi and Salerno has only recently swarmed with black-shirted vigilantes. In those dreadful days at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when peasant and worker were being ground to pieces between a ruthless foreign conqueror and an even more ruthless landowner class, the great poet Leopardi could bemoan the fate that had befallen his native land and ascribe it, with some show of reason, to the fatal attraction which it had exercised upon the rude barbarians of the north, and to the inevitable ravages of time. We all know the famous apostrophe to Italy:

O patria mia, vedo le mura e gli archi
E le colonne e i simulacri e l'erme
Torri degli avi nostri,
Ma la gloria non vedo.

Today we can also repeat ma la gloria non vedo, "I do not see the glory," but it is not to a foreign oppressor that this can now be ascribed, but to an Italian, aided by other Italians. When the great poet continues:

Oime' quante ferite,
Che lividor, che sangue! Oh qual ti veggio,
Formosissima donna! Io chiedo al cielo
E al mondo: dite, dite:
Chi la ridusse a tale?

we can all re-echo his lament and exclaim with him: "I cry to heaven and call upon the world; tell me, tell me, who has reduced you to such straits?"

Mann